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MEMOIRS

TO SERVE FOR

THE HISTORY OF NAPOLEON I

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TO SERVE FOR THE

HISTORY OF NAPOLEON I

From 1802 to 1815

95679

BY

BARON CLAUDE-FRANÇOIS DE MÉNEVAL

Private Secretary to Napoleon, First Consul and Emperor, Maître des Requêtes at the Council of State under the Empire, Officer of the Legion of Honour and of the order of the Iron Crown

(BORN IN PARIS IN 1778, DIED IN THE SAME CITY IN 1850)

THE WORK COMPLETED BY THE ADDITION OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS, AND ARRANGED AND EDITED BY HIS GRANDSON

BARON NAPOLEON JOSEPH DE MÉNEVAL

TRANSLATED AND ANNOTATED

BY

ROBERT H. SHERARD

WITH PHOTOGRAVURE PORTRAITS AND AUTOGRAPH LETTERS

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MEMOIRS

TO SERVE FOR

THE HISTORY OF NAPOLEON I.

From 1802 to 1815.

CHAPTER I.

The Emperor, His Wife, and His Son—The Imperial Omelette—Early Morning Walks—Portrait of the Emperor—Supreme Object of His Ambition—Injustice of Those Who have Accused Him—Impetus Given by Him to the Century in Which He Lived—Proposed Meeting of German Sovereigns at Dresden—Desire of the Empress to See Her Family Again There—The Pope at Fontainebleau—M. de Montholon at Würtzburg—His Marriage—His Recall—Journey to Dresden Put Off; the Reason Why—The Regulations for the Service During the Absence of the Emperor—Departure of Their Majesties for Dresden—Description of the Stay of Napoleon in that Capital—Return of M. de Narbonne from Vilna—Hostile Attitude of the Emperor Alexander—General Neipperg Appointed in the Suite of the Emperor of Austria—Departure of the Emperor for the Army—Triumphal Journey of the Empress Marie Louise to Prague—Her Letter to the Emperor's Mother—The Emperor Reviews His Army—Proclamation—The Niemen Crossed—The Vilia Crossed—What Has Been Written on the Campaign in Russia—Mission of the Russian General Balaköff to Vilna—Polish Deputation Presented to the Emperor—Definite Promise Asked of Him—His Answer Misinterpreted—Instructions Given to Abbé de Pradt—The Ambassador Acting Contrary to His Instructions—Disastrous Results which Follow—Insults and Calumnies of this Prelate—The Vilna Provisional Government—Guards of Honour—Duc de Bassano, Governor of Lithuania—Crown Prince of Wurtemberg Reproached with the Excesses Committed by His Troops—The Emperor Napoleon's Magnanimity—Habits and Occupations of Napoleon when at Headquarters and when Travelling—His Familiarity with the Soldiers—His Benevolence to Officers—Injustice of the Reproaches of Prevarication in the Despatch of Orders Addressed to the Major-General—The March on Vitepsk and on Smolensk—Bechen-Kowitzki Castle—Idea of Staying at Vitepsk Given up—Napoleon's Clever Manœuvre—Same Resolution at Smolensk as at Vitepsk—Young Marbeuf Killed in the Fight at Krasnoï—Letter of the Emperor to this Officer—Details—Fight at Valoutina—General Junot's Inaction—Death of General Gudin—Arrival on the Battle-field of Moskova—Portrait of the King of Rome Received on the Eve of the Battle—Battle of Moskova—The Emperor Absolved from the Reproach of Not Having Engaged His Guards—The Emperor's Voice is Affected—Entry into Deserted Moscow—The Kremlin—Beginning of the Fire—Incendiaries Left at Moscow by the

Governor—General Conflagration—Governor Rostopchin—The Fire Reaches the Kremlin—Temporary Retreat to Petrowskoi Castle—Return to the Burning City—The Emperor's Solicitude for the Wounded Men, whether French or Russian, for the Inhabitants, and for Charitable Institutions—Guard of the City Confided to M. de Lesseps—Abundant Supplies Found in the Cellars of the Houses Burnt Down—Daily Reviews and Parades—Care Which Had to be Taken to Supply All the Wants of the Army—Transaction of Administrative Business—Wounded Men Sent Away—Military Memoirs of the Campaign of Charles XII. in Russia—Rostopchin's Palace Preserved—Political Memorandum Found in this Palace—Confusion Produced at St. Petersburg by the Fall of Moscow—No Answer to the Letter of Napoleon to Alexander—Unexpected Attack on Our Outposts—Departure from Moscow—Order to Blow up the Fortifications of the Kremlin—Battle of Malojaroslavetz—Party of Cossacks Attempt to Carry off the Emperor—Disgrace of General Baraguay-d'Hilliers—Daring Expedition by General Roguet—Two French Army Corps Cut Off by the Russians—Death of M. de Villeblanche—Retrograde March of the Emperor to Free his Rear-guard—Marshal Ney Separated from the Army—This Marshal's Heroic Retreat—The Emperor's Joy when he Reappeared—The Emperor's Horses and Carriages Used for Carrying the Wounded—His Letter to Marshal Mortier—Prince Beauvau's Two Sons.

THE atmosphere of the Court, the habit which Marie Louise had of living familiarly with the Emperor, who paid her a great deal of attention, treated her with simple and affectionate manners, and often amused her with a gaiety which was often animated, had caused this princess to forget the stiffness and reserve which she owed to her natural timidity at the time of her arrival in France. Her bearing became easy; she had become somewhat less stout, and her figure, which was of perfect symmetry, had very much improved. Fine eyes, full of sweetness, and a beautifully fresh complexion gave to her face an agreeable expression, and rendered the *ensemble* of her person both noble and graceful.

Weighed down by duties and cares on the eve of a rupture with Russia, the Emperor's time was taken up with the multifarious occupations of his cabinets, with reviews, and with the work of his ministers. It was only with his wife and his son that he found agreeable relief from so much fatigue. The little leisure which his

affairs left him in the day-time was spent with his son, whose tottering steps it pleased him to guide with quite a womanly care. The frequent falls of this cherished child when they had not been prevented were greeted with caresses and loud shouts of laughter by his father. The Empress, who used to be present at these family scenes, did not take so active a part in them as the Emperor. These three persons, whose simplicity might have led one to forget their greatness, offered the spectacle of a middle-class family attached to each other by the fondest affection. Who could then have thought of the fate which was reserved to them?

This great man, whom so many prejudiced or mistaken minds have been pleased to represent as being inaccessible to any tender sentiment, was both a good husband and an excellent father; never did the Empress find in him the censor of her innocent whims. The following anecdote, which Marie Louise used to be fond of calling to mind, shows the good nature of Napoleon in this respect. The remembrance of a taste, which she had acquired in the very homely sort of life she had led when quite a girl, inspired one day the Empress with a desire to make an omelette herself, and she had had all the necessary ingredients brought into her apartment. Whilst completely taken up with her very important culinary operation, the Emperor entered without having been announced, either by chance, or because he had heard from some officious person what was going on, and wanted to have the pleasure of surprising Marie Louise. The latter, somewhat upset by this unexpected visit, endeavoured to prevent Napoleon from seeing

what she was preparing. "What is going on here?" asked the Emperor. "There is a singular smell, as if something was being fried!" Then, stepping behind the Empress, he discovered the spirit lamp, the silver frying-pan in which the butter was beginning to melt, the salad-bowl, and the eggs. "What!" cries Napoleon, "so you are making an omelette! Bah! you don't know how to do it at all. I will show you how it is to be done." He then set to work, the Empress acting as his assistant, but he was trying to teach an assistant who knew more about it than he did, and whose education had been obtained in a very lofty school. The Empress's parents were passionately fond of rustic occupations, loving to withdraw into some rustic home built in the centre of great imperial parks, and there, disguised as farmers, to attend to household duties with their children.

The omelette, then, having been finished, somehow or other, there remained the important operation of tossing it. Napoleon wanted to do this himself; but he had thought himself cleverer than he was, and just as he was trying to toss the omelette there happened to him what happened to the great Condé, who according to Gourville wished to make an omelette at an inn, where he had stopped, and pitched it into the fire when trying to turn it. Napoleon did not succeed any better, and let the omelette fall on the ground. He was then obliged to confess his want of experience, and left the Empress to go on with her cooking alone.

In the spring of 1812 the Emperor was enabled by the return of the fine weather to add to his family amusements excursions on horseback, and hunts, in

which the Empress followed him, either at St. Cloud or at Rambouillet—residences of which he was fond because he was surrounded by fewer people, and was more at liberty. Sometimes at break of day he would wake the Empress up to go out riding with her. Together with Marie Louise he would ride through the beautiful woods which surround St. Cloud. Some of these rides had a fixed and useful object, either in the direction of Paris or in the surroundings. On some occasions the sovereigns went to pay a visit to the works of embellishment or improvement which had been commanded by Napoleon. The guardians of these works were sometimes taken by surprise, fast asleep, by these sudden visits, and would look at these new inspectors with amazement, believing themselves in the presence of a vision. As these excursions were never announced in advance the aide-de-camp and equerry in attendance, together with two or three outriders, formed the whole party. The Empress was never accompanied by any of her ladies. Some of these used to meet her on her return, or wait for her in her apartment. Marie Louise used to get into the carriage, which followed them, when she felt tired, but this happened but rarely. The Emperor always came back from these excursions, whether he went out alone or with Marie Louise, with some idea for improving or perfecting the works in his mind. If he found on his road some piece of work to which his attention had been directed, he would examine in person to what an extent the carrying out of such a work would be useful. At the first glance Napoleon would take a survey of the site, and of the works which had been begun, forming a just idea of the best

way in which they could be directed, of their duration, and of the expense which they would occasion. On his return he would commission his ministers to call together their heads of departments, the engineers, and scientific men, and unite them in a council over which he used to preside. On hearing the reading of their reports he would apply to them the first notions which he had gathered on the spot itself, having determined in his head in what way the works might be perfected.

In spite of the rapidity of his examination he had generally made himself as fully acquainted thereby with all the details of the work as the specialists, who had made it the object of their constant studies, could have done. Nature had lavished upon Napoleon the faculties which she reserves to privileged beings created to command, to conduct, and to enlighten mankind. She had endowed him with a vivid and ardent imagination, united with a cold reasoning power; she had endowed him with genius fortified by study, which the most prolonged and arid labour could not wear out, and which, on the contrary, drew fresh stores of vigour from the diversity of his occupations; she had endowed him with a vast mind, which embraced the *ensemble* of the widest questions, and which descended to the most minute details; she had endowed him with a really extraordinary conception to which sudden flashes revealed the deepest depths of human knowledge; she had endowed him with a prodigious memory. To these gifts of intelligence there was added in Napoleon a lofty and sensitive mind, but a mind which was strongly tempered, and which rose superior to the blows as to the favours of fortune. His *sang-froid* was unalterable in the midst of danger as though he had

felt himself invulnerable. A persevering and inflexible will, an instinct of power and superiority which broke down all obstacles, made him smile at the word "impossible", or deny its existence. The study of the human heart had taught him the art of attaching men to him, and of subjugating them. His presence and his language excited enthusiasm, his eloquence was vivacious and rapid, his words were energetic, profound, and often sublime. His simple exterior—simple, but heightened with an air of grandeur and by the habit of command, the fascination of his look—his look, whose sweet or severe expression penetrated to the bottom of all hearts, inspired respect mingled with fear and affection. Never was there a more popular leader in history, and yet he would never consent to lower himself to acquire such popularity. His vigilance was constantly on the alert to reform abuses of every kind, to discover the means of raising France to the eminence where his genius dreamt of placing her; at the same time the indefatigable activity of his body and mind induced him to practise the principle that one should not let others do what one could do oneself. The main feeling of what is just and what is unjust dominated within him. So far above other men, he was, whatever may have been said, superior to men's passions, he knew how to pity the weakness and the misery of the human heart. Although as a general rule he was indulgent toward faults and errors, he had thought it sometimes necessary to rebuke severely in public those who had committed them, less to punish those to whom his reproaches were addressed than for an example, and to impress the minds of those who witnessed these scenes. His severity usually limited

itself to this. Often clement towards his adversaries he was reluctant to act against them, and ended by becoming their victim. Those who have represented his government as the type of a military domination have not noticed what a little part in the power Napoleon, who was adored by the army, gave to his lieutenants, and with what care he maintained his soldiers in a state of submission to civil authority. Endowed in the supremest degree with military genius, the reputation of the most illustrious captains pales before his, and yet it is not only to the glory of his army that he owed his reputation and his empire. He was an administrator, a politician, a legislator, a writer, even a savant, and indeed everything that he wished to be—as well as a great soldier. The constant object of his labours, of his conquests, an object which time did not allow him to attain, can be summed up in one phrase: to assure to all men the full exercise and the entire enjoyment of all their faculties. It was Napoleon himself who attributed to himself this lofty ambition, nor will posterity deny him the merit of it. His thoughts, his actions, his very ambition converged towards this lofty object: to regenerate the nations, to scatter broadcast amongst them opinions of progress together with enlightenment, to bestow everywhere and on all classes the inalienable privileges of civil and political liberty.*

Preoccupied with his lofty ambition and with the duty of protecting the future of France against the hatreds of the old-world Europe, Napoleon was necessarily forced in the development of his measures for

* Whilst repudiating the violence and the Utopian ideas of the Revolution, Napoleon was the first to sincerely wish to make all the principles which the Revolution had invoked from the beginning, practical realities.

enforcing his conceptions to clash with many prejudices, and to wound many and various susceptibilities. In putting aside the obstacles which impeded his onward march, he could not help injuring many interests of all kinds. Having fallen in the midst of his glorious and laborious career, the elevation of his ideas and the object of his plans have escaped the eyes of the vulgar, who only judge by success. Those whom fortune has abandoned are generally judged with but little indulgence. Napoleon has remained after his fall a prey to attacks which are often unjust and undeserved. Even at the time at which I am writing he has not yet been judged with sufficient impartiality, and yet the hatred of him is dying out, passion is losing its force, prejudices are becoming dissipated, and the minds of men enlightened.

The path traced out by his genius, the object towards which he marched, will appear one day freed from the clouds which so long had shrouded them in darkness. This is what in my opinion, will happen for Napoleon, whose glory the future can only increase.

In his private relations Napoleon was simple, natural, an observer of forms towards himself as well as towards others. Of easy manners in his family life, generous, and benevolent, he had orderly morals, religious sentiments, and great tolerance. He was a good father, a good husband, a good son, and a good brother.

Napoleon applied to the acts of his public life the qualities which he had in his private life and which were inherent to his nature. This respect for morality he exacted from his ministers, and from the functionaries of State. Not only did he seek—in those whom he associated with his labours—for talents

appropriated to the lofty posts which were entrusted to them, but also a scrupulous probity, a spirit of equity and justice, and honourable morals. Those whom the nature of their functions put into direct relations with him distinguished themselves by these qualities, with one or two exceptions in the case of men who were necessary to him, and who by reasons of prudence or superior political motives could not be definitely removed from his councils. Those who by reason of the secondary importance of their functions did not approach his person were none the less the objects of his attention. Abuses, acts contrary to the respect with which he wished his agents to be surrounded, were immediately repressed by severe reprimands, or punished by dismissal. It must be added that never was sovereign so well served, or inspired so much devotion, never under any reign were services of any and every kind less exposed to hazards, more independent of caprice, or less liable to be forgotten. Those who served Napoleon well were always largely recompensed.

On the 18th Brumaire the future Emperor had found France the prey to the most fatal dissensions, and the care of uniting the French in a common interest of national prosperity and greatness became his constant preoccupation. Everybody of any value in France, both under the Consulate and the Empire was summoned by the Head of the Government, without distinction of caste or of opinion, to help him in the task of re-organizing the State, of founding French unity and nationality, and laying the basis of that vigorous administration which Napoleon bequeathed to his successors. All citizens, both in civil and military

life, seconded Napoleon with zeal and fidelity, for the spirit and will of the nation were personified in him.

In brief, there were united in the same man all the great qualities which I have only given in outline, crowned with an ardent love for his country, and for its glory. This is what distinguishes Napoleon among the very small number of men who at rare intervals have ruled over the world. The more he becomes known the more will he be found to be one of the least imperfect of men. He used to speak with entire conviction when he said that he would present himself with confidence before God's justice seat, and would await His judgment without fear. If the energy of his character, a profound sentiment of honour, and a horror of injustice drew him on rare occasions beyond the limits of moderation the cause thereof must be looked for in the exaggeration of these qualities. If in a small number of particular cases—amongst others in his decision on the affair of the Antwerp Custom-house, and the establishment of the state prisons—he thought the action of the existing laws insufficient, or saw that grave disadvantages would arise from their rigorous application, he was always determined to the use of discretionary power, absolute but not arbitrary (for the word arbitrary presupposes caprice or sovereign's mere will and pleasure), by considerations concerning the public interest, or by his anxiety to protect morality.

The Zoïluses * of Napoleon's glory have taken pleasure in depicting his policy in odious colours, but did he ever make use of the detestable means, of which an example was given by his predecessors, in the reconstruction or in the foundation of Empires? Did

* From Zoïlus, the critic of Homer. R. H. S.

he sow dissension, crime, or revolt, in the states of his implacable enemies? Did he arm the peoples against their sovereigns? Did he raise up the slaves against their masters? *

The extraordinary situation in which the eternal enemies of France and of her chief had placed Napoleon amply explains most of his acts. Errors and miscalculations were inevitable in the great work which he had undertaken. At the same time such an act, which may appear to a contemporary to merit blame will perhaps be praised by posterity. Time matures slowly the germs of the important improvements which Napoleon had entrusted to the future to perfect. The march of time will assuredly unroll many unknown pages of this life, so fruitful in vast conceptions, which will reveal the profundity of this extraordinary genius, and will justify many acts which were misunderstood or superficially judged by many people.

Absorbed with the cares of a constantly renewed struggle against the armies of the coalition, Napoleon could not think of endowing France with a greater number of more liberal parliamentary institutions for which the country was not yet matured, and which besides, were not at that time asked for by public opinion. The introduction of these reforms into our institutions during such troubled times would have been, as one may conceive, untimely. It would have

* "I could have armed a great part of the population (in Russia) against itself by proclaiming the freedom of the serfs. I was asked to do so in a large number of villages, but when I saw the degraded state of this large class of the Russian population I refused to take a measure which would have condemned many families to death and to the most horrible tortures."—*Extract from the Emperor's Correspondence to the Deputation of the Senate* (*Moniteur*, Dec. 21st, 1812).

thrown the Imperial Government, constantly menaced by dangers abroad, into all kinds of inextricable embarrassments, under the weight of which it would have been doomed to succumb fatally and very rapidly. It has been said with reason that each epoch has its way of thinking and its principles, the direction of which can be modified by nobody, and that one must not ask the fruits of autumn of the spring. The experience of thirty years has proved, according to us, that the establishment of the representative system, in order to rally all minds in France, stands in need of a modification in the customs and character of our nation. Napoleon knew perfectly well that it was impossible to govern for any length of time against the feelings and against the wishes of the nation. He often confessed that there were faults, and a need of reform in the workings of his government, adding that he proposed to remedy these faults as soon as quieter times should give him leisure to do so. Who then, will dare to affirm that at the time when general peace should have freed France from all fear of danger from abroad, and from perturbations at home, leaving Napoleon free to destroy the barriers and restrictions imposed by circumstances, he would not himself have abdicated his dictatorship, restricted his rule to its natural limits, and in this way have prepared for his son a pacific reign, protected by liberal institutions wisely thought out?

One might make of the projects of reform and improvement thought over by the Emperor, for the administrative, financial and judicial systems, a collection of immortal decisions on all questions which interest humanity in general, and the government of a

great Empire. With his genius for organization, his eminent spirit of order, his keen love of good, and for France, what great things did this privileged being accomplish in so few years, and in spite of so many obstacles! The prodigies accomplished by him during his reign were not above all the dreams which he hoped to turn into realities, and which he held in reserve in his mighty brain. The remembrance of these times, the hours which I passed in the company of this extraordinary man, seem to me now a dream. In the excited state of feeling which this remembrance awakens in me I can only kneel down before the impenetrable decrees of Providence, which after having raised up this marvellous instrument of its designs, so quickly took him away from his unfinished work. It may be that the Divine Creator of all things was not willing to permit His creature to anticipate the times marked by the unvarying order laid down by Himself.

After the signing of the treaties with Austria and Prussia at the beginning of 1812, of which I have already spoken, the Emperor decided to pay a visit to Dresden before proceeding to the army. He proposed to assemble his allies there. He had not yet given up all hope of avoiding the great struggle which was preparing. Napoleon spoke to the Empress of his intention of inviting the Emperor of Austria to meet him in the capital of the King of Saxony. The Empress Marie Louise received this proposal with great pleasure, for it was her warmest wish to see her father and her family, with whom she kept up a regular correspondence, once more.

In consequence Count Otto, our ambassador in

Vienna, was commissioned to invite the Emperor Francis to come to Dresden with the Empress and the Archdukes and Archduchesses, brothers and sisters of Marie Louise, who looked forward with pleasure to spending some days with them.

The necessity of coping with the serious difficulties caused by the lack of wheat, with which France was threatened, delayed the Emperor's departure to Dresden for a month. Since 1811 the scarcity of wheat had been felt, and this scarcity had developed towards the beginning of 1812 in a manner to cause anxiety. Extraordinary measures, and an allotment of 25,000,000 francs for the purpose of reducing the price of bread, ample daily distributions of cheap soups, and above all the promise of a good harvest, dispelled this danger. The Emperor displayed under these circumstances the activity which he knew how to apply to all things. Every two days he presided over councils of maintenance, to which he summoned competent men, and his solicitude and foresight extended to the minutest details of the question.

At the time of engaging in a distant and hazardous expedition, the Emperor feared that during an absence which might be prolonged, the English, whose ships were cruising before Genoa, might attempt to forcibly remove the Pope from Savona, in order to make of the Head of the Catholic Church a docile instrument in their hands, in spite of the fact that their hands were the hands of heretics. With a view of providing against this eventuality he ordered that the Holy Father should be invited to go to Fontainebleau, in order to remove him out of the sphere of English intrigues. At the same time Napoleon summoned the Archbishop of Edessa to

Fontainebleau, thinking that the society of this prelate, who was much liked by the Pope, would be both agreeable and useful to His Holiness.

The Emperor had sent M. de Montholon, who was the son-in-law of Senator Sémonville, to Würtzburg as plenipotentiary minister, because, as he thought, the court of the Grand-Duke would be to the French envoy a mirror in which he could see the reflection of all that was going on in Vienna. Prince Ferdinand of Austria, formerly Grand-Duke of Tuscany, who had been dispossessed of his States by the treaty of Lunéville, had obtained in exchange for the Duchy of Salzburg, the Grand-Duchy of Würtzburg, in virtue of a clause of the treaty of 1809. He had come to Paris as a member of the Confederation of the Rhine to be present at the marriage of his niece Marie Louise. He stayed rather a long time in Paris, and lived in the intimacy of the imperial family and court. The object for which M. de Montholon was sent was to a certain extent realized, for the new ambassador gave useful information on the internal state of things in Austria and Germany.

Count Montholon had passed through a brilliant military career. His services previous to the day of Brumaire 18th, and his co-operation on that same day, had been recompensed with the gift of the sword of honour. He was obliged to renounce his military career temporarily, in consequence of wounds and bad health. He then became chamberlain to the Emperor, and was entrusted with various missions, in which he knew how to display his skill. His diplomatic career was however suddenly interrupted by a marriage which displeased Napoleon. General Montholon, as a matter of fact, during his visit to Würtzburg, and without

the knowledge of his family, married a woman who had been twice divorced, and whose two husbands were still living. The Emperor had refused his consent to this marriage; but, during his stay in Dresden, he granted M. Montholon permission to marry the niece of President Séguier, because he had forgotten that the lady in question was the identical person whose marriage he had refused to authorize. Napoleon, however, was soon made acquainted with the true state of things, and refused to allow the divorced woman to be presented at the Court of Würtzburg, and this out of consideration for the susceptibility of the small German courts, which in this case at least was very excusable. General Montholon, in consequence, was ordered to retire immediately from his place, and to return to Paris forthwith. The Emperor's resentment, however, was not longlived. Count Montholon very soon re-entered the service and was entrusted with the command of a department. On Napoleon's return from the Island of Elba, this faithful servant made haste to go and meet him, attached himself entirely to his person, and in the end, together with his wife and children, followed him to St. Helena, where, until the very end, he gave the Emperor touching proofs of the most absolute devotion. *

Before leaving Paris the Emperor, according to his

* Charles Tristan, Count de Montholon (1783—1853) was one of Napoleon's testamentary executors, in which capacity he took charge of all the Emperor's manuscripts after his death. On his return from St. Helena, he published, in collaboration with General Gourgaud, eight volumes of "*Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire de France sous Napoléon, écrits à Ste.-Hélène sous sa dictée*" (Paris 1823). He accompanied Louis Napoleon on his Boulogne expedition in 1840, and shared his captivity in the fortress of Ham.—R. H. S.

custom, had despatched all matters which were behindhand, or which were awaiting his decision. He had established an order of service in virtue of which the government was confided during his absence to the Council of Ministers, presided over by the Arch-Chancellor Cambacérès. An auditor charged with the minister's portfolio was sent each week to the Minister Secretary of State, who always accompanied the Emperor. The Minister of Police himself wrote every day. Napoleon also used to receive confidential letters or notes from persons who were not employed in the government but who were authorized or permitted to write to him, as the readers have seen, on matters of home politics, on the state of the public opinion, and even on literary subjects. Although distant 800 or 900 leagues from Paris, Napoleon governed the Empire as though he were present. The Empress was at that time only charged with the representative part of the functions. She used to go to mass every Sunday, and all persons who had been presented at Court were allowed to be present on these occasions. After mass she used to walk round the gallery which led into the chapel and converse with everybody present. She used also to receive on certain grand occasions. At such times her timidity was noticeable and the efforts which she made to surmount this timidity gave her an embarrassed bearing. The persons of both sexes whose names were registered on the lists of *entrées* were admitted every evening to her receptions.

It was the Emperor who had drawn up this list, and he had taken care to select persons who were agreeable to the Empress. The consequence was, that at these drawing-rooms she was perfectly at her ease, and did

the honours with much grace and natural manners. She used to play at billiards with persons whom she selected. Whist tables were set up for form in her drawing-room, and the evenings terminated with a concert or theatrical performance.

On May 9th, 1812, the Emperor and Empress left St. Cloud, and arrived at Mayence on the 14th, where they stayed. Their Majesties saw the Grand-Duke and Grand-Duchess of Hesse-Darmstadt. The journey from Mayence to Dresden was one unbroken triumphal procession, and the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, whose States were passed through by the French sovereigns, received them as their Suzerains, and showed them the hospitality of grand-vassals. Many even came to wait for them on the road, amongst others the King of Wurtemberg, and the Grand-Duke of Baden. It would be a mistake to fancy that the Emperor expected his hosts to pay for his entertainment and that of his suite. Napoleon did not wish his visits to give trouble to anybody. He was preceded and followed by his household, together with all that was necessary for a life of great display. Some leagues from Dresden he met the King of Saxony, who had come to meet him, accompanied by his Queen. The Emperor and Empress made their entrance into Dresden, with Their Saxon Majesties, by torchlight. On the morrow the Emperor and Empress of Austria, and the Archdukes also arrived at Dresden, and were followed in turn by the Queen of Westphalia (the King had already gone to join the army), the Grand-Duke of Würtzburg, the King and Crown Prince of Prussia, and many of the princes of the Confederation, the principal ministers, and amongst others MM. de Hardenberg and Metternich.

The Emperor Francis embraced Napoleon with visible emotion. The Empress of Austria and the Archdukes received Marie Louise with an ardour which was mingled with respect. The King of Prussia presented the Crown Prince to the Emperor, and begged him to allow him to follow him as aide-de-camp*, and at the same time begged the Emperor's aides-de-camp to bestow their friendship on his son.

The period of Napoleon's stay in Dresden, in 1812, marks the apogee of his power. Words are wanting to describe the effect which his presence produced there. Never perhaps has human greatness reached so high a point. It has been said that Napoleon at Dresden was the Agamemnon, king of kings: it was to his intellectual superiority almost as much as to his power that at that time these spontaneous manifestations of respect and consideration were addressed. An emperor, kings, and sovereign princes, stood at his side as courtiers rather than as peers. The Emperor of Austria was forgotten in Napoleon's presence, and the latter had to efface himself to draw attention to a Prince whose illustrious son-in-law centred all attention on himself. It must not be judged from their attitude that the Emperor of Austria and the King of Prussia were sincere in their demonstrations towards the man who had conquered them. If these princes had been able for the moment to forget their secret grudges they had near their persons clever ministers who would have taken it upon themselves to remind them of their grievances. The Empress of Austria, a well-read and intelligent woman, came to Dresden armed with her dignity as a beautiful woman and as an Empress, full of preju-

*Brutally refused by Napoleon.—R. H. S.

dices against the man to whom the Austrian monarchy owed its greatest humiliation. Marie Louise's young step-mother came determined to resist the general enthusiasm, and to hold herself in a reserve which should fringe on contempt. In a very short time she had yielded to the influence which Napoleon exercised on all. I had frequent opportunities of observing the aspect of these august assemblies, and I have contemplated the royal assembly, of which Napoleon was the head, in the vast apartment of the Palace at Dresden. The Empress of Austria was in such poor health that she was unable to support the fatigue of walking a long distance in the apartment. The Emperor used to go to meet her, holding his hat in one hand, the other hand resting on the door of the Sedan chair, in which the Empress was being carried, talking to her in a cheerful manner. The Empress seemed to take an interest in his conversation and showed her interest by the attention with which she listened to, and answered him. All those who were present at these moments agree in saying that Napoleon exercised an irresistible ascendency over his noble hosts, as much by the agreeableness of his wit, as by the seduction of his manners. One might have said that this extraordinary man had, since his youth, carried the weight of a great empire on his shoulders, so well did he know how to support the dignity of his rank by his tone and by his manners. Penetrating and profound as was his intelligence, nothing escaped his observing eye. Perfect tact, and a delicate instinct of what was due to all, were wedded in this exceptional mind to maturity and education, and this assembly of superior qualities rendered him the most amiable and charming of men *when he chose to show himself as such.*

The first idea of the journey to Dresden had arisen from Marie Louise's desire to see her family again and be once more in the midst of her people. The presence of the Emperor of Austria at Dresden necessarily entailed also the presence of the King of Prussia, who was equally the ally of France in the war which was being prepared. Napoleon's principal reason in assembling the kings and the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine had been to show Russia how strong were the bonds which united these different princes to the system of the French Empire. The Emperor had not despaired of impressing Russia and of leading this power to less bellicose feelings by means of this display of a close alliance with the sovereigns of the whole of Germany, together with a display of considerable forces. As a matter of fact, and I cannot repeat this too often, Napoleon was entering upon this war with extreme reluctance, and until the very last moment in his heart of hearts he hoped to be able to avoid it. Before leaving Paris the Emperor had sent General Narbonne, his aide-de-camp, to St. Petersburg. Having no news of General Narbonne at Dresden, and hearing that the Emperor Alexander had arrived at Vilna, he sent word to Count Lauriston, his ambassador, to proceed to this city and to address himself to the Czar directly. Napoleon accordingly, it cannot be denied, fostered a feeble hope that the difficulties might yet be overcome. He loved to think that reflection having enlightened Alexander the latter would be inclined to withdraw the strong summons addressed by the Russian Cabinet to the French Government, ordering us to evacuate the territory occupied by our armies before any nego-

tiations or *pourparlers* had taken place. General Lauriston was not even able to obtain authorization to go to Vilna, and as to Count Narbonne he returned to Dresden on May 24th, only five days before the Emperor's departure. He had been received by the Russian sovereign, but he had not found him at all inclined to make any alteration in his views. The cold and inflexible attitude of this prince, his reserve, his perseverance in unacceptable demands, convinced Napoleon that the Czar had made up his mind, and that he had engaged himself towards England too far to be able to draw back any more. Unable any longer to deceive himself as to the uselessness of his attempts at reconciliation, the Emperor sent orders to Paris that Prince Kurakin's passport should be returned to him. The Duke de Bassano's letter, which was sent with these passports, was so worded that the ambassador of Russia could not but see that the insistance with which he had asked for them could no longer be considered in any other light than as a declaration of war.

In the midst of imposing fêtes, drawing-rooms, and balls, in Dresden, had it not been known that there were stationed around us 500,000 men ready to enter the arena, one would have thought neither of war nor of the great events which were preparing—events in which each one of the actors took a particular and very different interest.

Amongst the persons in the suite of the Emperor of Austria was a man vested with the title of chamberlain, who made himself known in military commands, in diplomatic missions, but who passed unnoticed in the royal and princely crowd. This

man was General Count Neipperg. The Empress Marie Louise saw him there for the first time, without attaching the slightest importance to his presence. However, as she was going to the theatre room with the Emperor, she addressed some words to this general because he happened to be standing in her way. How impenetrable are the designs of God! These three persons, whom the festivities of Dresden had drawn together, in such different ranks, were far from suspecting at that time the part which the most humble amongst them was destined to play in the future.

On May 29th the Empress Marie Louise was the only one of the guests who remained in Dresden. The Emperor Napoleon had left her on that day to join the army. The Emperor and Empress of Austria had set out for Prague the same day themselves, to hurry on the preparations for the reception of their daughter and step-daughter. On the evening before, the King of Prussia and the Crown Prince had left to return to Berlin. Marie Louise remained in Dresden alone for some days, and left on June 4th for Prague. Her journey was an uninterrupted triumph, she was complimented on the Austrian frontier; she was received under triumphal arches, and escorted by numerous squadrons of cavalry in full uniform. The Emperor and Empress came to meet her, and conducted her to Prague, which she entered to the sound of cannon, and church bells. The civil and religious authorities, the court, and the leading nobility of the provinces were presented to her. The Emperor and Empress of Austria gave precedence to Marie Louise both at table and in the carriages, and everywhere she was received with the honours which were reserved for the

Austrian sovereigns on gala days. This stay at Prague lasted more than three weeks, and every day was taken up with banquets, balls, excursions, illuminations, or theatrical performances. Alternate receptions were held at the palace of the Emperor of Austria, and at the palace of the Empress Marie Louise. Nothing was wanting in the honours lavished on Napoleon's wife on Austrian territory. It might have been said that the family of Hapsburg, in harmony with fortune, was saluting with a final and splendid homage the man whose star was so soon to wane, and at last to go out—to be altogether extinguished.

In the midst of these enjoyments Marie Louise never for a moment forgot the Emperor, and used to write to him every day. On June 25th she wrote the following letter to Napoleon's mother:—

"PRAGUE, JUNE 25th, 1812.

"The Emperor is wonderfully well. He is still in the neighbourhood of Königsberg, always busy, always on horseback, and all the better for it. The only comfort which I have during his absence is to think that the fatigue which he endures gives me no reason to fear for his health. He writes to me very often, and each day that I receive a letter from him is a day of happiness for me.... Nothing can console me for the Emperor's absence, not even the presence of all my family."

On July 1st, the Empress Marie Louise left Prague with her father, who accompanied her as far as Carlsbad, and on the 18th she was back again at St. Cloud.

In the meanwhile Napoleon visited Glogau, Posen, Thorn, Dantzig, and Königsberg, in turn. During

his stay in the latter city the Emperor held a great review in the plain of Friedland, which reminded him of one of his most splendid triumphs. He inspected the various army corps, and conducted them to the Niemen which was crossed on June 24th. On the 22nd of the same month a proclamation, dated from Wilkovicki, had announced the declaration of war on Russia. On the 25th of May previously, this power had endeavoured to sign the treaty of Bucharest with the Porte, and on the 29th of the same month, had declared all its ports open to ships of all nations, which meant to say that they were open to English trade.

On the morrow of the day on which the proclamation of Wilkovicki had been entered on the order of the day, Napoleon went to reconnoitre in person which point on the Niemen was most favourable to crossing. He put a hood over his coat, and placed on his head the forage cap of one of the Polish Light Cavalry of the Guard. Three bridges were thrown over the river, near Kowno, by his orders, and it was by these bridges that the army crossed the river in the night of the 23rd June, and during the whole following day. After the Niemen had been crossed, and during the march from Kowno to Vilna, no Russian soldiers were met with, except some light troops near the latter town, which was entered by the French without any fighting. The weather had changed suddenly after the crossing of the Niemen, and the rain, which fell in torrents, inundated the roads, and this disorganized all the army transport service. The Emperor entered Vilna on June 28th, and he was received there like a liberator, and as the restorer of Polish

independence. I will now speak of an incident which happened to a Polish squadron, and which occurred whilst crossing a small river. I do so because the losses which it is alleged were suffered by these squadrons have been stated with a great deal of exaggeration. The bridge having broken down, the Poles bravely swam across the river—which was much swollen by the rain—in the way practised by the Tartars. Their loss amounted to one light cavalryman, who was carried away by the current, separated from his comrades, and drowned.

The Emperor Alexander had left Vilna three days previously to join his headquarters at Sventziani.

The narrative of the military events of the Russian campaign is not within the scope of this work. Conscientious historians have already fulfilled this task with impartiality. Memoirs which are still unpublished will relate all the occurrences which took place, and make all the conduct of this fatal war better known. The majority of writers who have undertaken to relate them have not justified their mission with sufficient impartiality. One animated with hostile sentiments against the fallen Imperial Government has in his narrative shown all the ardour of his hatred and all the injustice of his prejudices. Another devoted to the Bourbon Government has tried to offer them a sacrifice of the great victim. A third, * seeing in the events of this war the subject of a sombre epic, which tempted his literary ambition, has strained his dreamy imagination to compose a drama, which, by the manner of its exposure, its action, and its *dénouement*, should realize the object which he had proposed to himself

* General Philip de Ségur.

to attain. Although the causes and the combinations of this memorable expedition were in part unknown to him, the author has known how to suit them to the object he had in view (*ægri somnia*). His melancholy genius took pleasure in painting, in the blackest colours, misfortunes which were cruel enough to need no exaggeration and to excite in the minds of men, already struck with this immense catastrophe, those deep emotions of which the human heart is so greedy.*

The mission of the Russian general, Balakoff, at Vilna, the object of which is hardly known, was a preliminary of this fatal war, and was perhaps its most certain precursor. The Emperor of Russia had received Count Narbonne at Vilna, in a manner which dispelled all hopes for the preservation of peace. He had moreover refused to see Count Lauriston, our ambassador, and even to allow his Prime Minister to confer with him. War had already begun, Napoleon was already in the centre of Lithuania, all communications seemed broken off between the two States, when the arrival of a Russian officer at the Imperial headquarters excited general surprise, and brought back a ray of hope. This general officer, Minister of Police, whose mission no doubt was purely one of observation, bore an autograph letter from the Emperor of Russia to Napoleon. In this letter Alexander complained of the violation of his frontiers, declaring that "Prince Kurakin had not been authorized to ask for the return of his credentials, that if this was a reason why the Emperor had considered himself at war with him it

* The work to which Méneval refers is de Ségur's: "*Histoire de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée*" which was published in Paris in 1824 and met with great success.—R. H. S.

was a great misunderstanding, * that if Napoleon was content to withdraw his troops from Russian territory, he was prepared to shut his eyes to what had happened, and that an arrangement was still possible." The Emperor, comparing this step taken by Russia with the insistance with which Prince Kurakin had demanded his passports in Paris, with Alexander's refusal to listen to our ambassador, and the cold reception which he had awarded to Count Narbonne at Vilna, was greatly surprised at this so tardy a communication. He, however, asked the Russian envoy if he had powers, and offered to treat for peace then and there. General Balakoff had neither instructions nor powers. His mission was limited to renewing the injunction which had been made in Paris by Prince Kurakin, and to demand the evacuation of the territories. The Emperor, concealing the resentment which he felt on the receipt of a notification which he was unable to define, received the bearer thereof very well, spoke to him of his master in a friendly way and with interest, but could not but consider Alexander's message as a message intended to humiliate him, the effect of which had been well calculated by those who had advised it.

Another incident which marked Napoleon's stay at Vilna was the reception of a deputation from the Diet of Warsaw, which came to ask him to declare himself in favour of a re-establishment of Poland. The address in which this wish was expressed, which had been written by Abbé de Pradt, who had not found the address written by the deputation sufficiently academical, was

* In the original letter Alexander mis-spells the word and writes *mésentendu* for *malentendu*.

of a kind to embarrass the Emperor. If he did not pronounce the decision which the Poles asked for, namely: "The Kingdom of Poland is re-established," it was because he could not and would not guarantee anything at the beginning of a war the chances of which could not be foreseen. Nor was he prepared to bind himself to the promise that he would not lay down arms until after the accomplishment of an engagement on this head. He wished, indeed, in case of a want of success, to be able to conclude peace and not to prolong a struggle which, whilst exhausting the forces and the resources of France, would bring with it no decisive result for Poland. A fortunate war, followed by peace, could alone allow him to enfranchise this nation and to proclaim its independence. All therefore had to depend on the issue of this war and on the way in which the Poles should conduct themselves during its course: such was the Emperor's way of thinking.

It has been seen that in the alliance which was concluded with Austria before the campaign was entered upon, the cession of a part of Galicia had been stipulated for in case Poland should come to be re-established as a consequence of the war, that is to say after the conclusion of peace. When in 1806, Prussian Poland was created the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw, Napoleon had acted with the same circumspection and had refused to pronounce himself until after victory was his.

The reasons which dictated the Emperor's answer to the Poles were just and sincere. A prudent reserve dictated the language in which he spoke to them, although his mind was fully made up to make the re-establishment of the Polish monarchy one of the conditions of peace

if victory once more remained faithful to the French flag. The Emperor's answer to the Polish deputies will be found at the end of this volume. However this may be, this declaration produced a bad effect on the Poles and even in France. Napoleon has been blamed for having been too prudent in this matter. On reading over his declaration attentively, it will however be found that he promised his support to the Polish nation in no ambiguous terms. If he did not add to the number of Russo-Polish provinces which he advised to revolt the provinces which belonged to Austria, it was because the war being exclusively directed against Russia, it was to the Russo-Polish provinces alone that his call to arms had exclusively to be addressed. Napoleon had moreover no wish to reveal the secret of his plans nor to alienate Austria to whom he was bound by a treaty, by a want of consideration at the very outset of the campaign. What moral force would have remained to him if, in the course of a solemn audience, he had offended, by the use of indiscreet expressions, a power whose troops with the Prussian contingent formed the wings of his army? If the war had been crowned with success, the Austro-Polish provinces would necessarily have been returned to the reconstituted monarchy of Poland, Austria being compensated by means of an indemnity which would have been equivalent and even superior.

To appreciate Napoleon's interest in the re-establishment of Poland it is necessary to make known the instructions which he had given to his ambassador at Warsaw, and above all it is necessary to know why he had chosen him. With a view of assuring to his representative preponderant authority, for it was his to

exercise a veritable vice-royalty in Poland, the Emperor had chosen him from amongst the high dignitaries of the Church. The rank of archbishop gave to the French envoy a political character which gave him an exceptional position, an advantage which neither a general nor a civil functionary would have enjoyed in presence of the Polish generals and ministers. Only his choice of the man was a most unfortunate one. It is one of the few reproaches of the kind which can be addressed to Napoleon, who, as a rule, was so well able to find men fitted for the functions with which he intended to intrust them.

The résumé of the instructions given to M. de Pradt, was to see all, to know all, to direct all, to animate all, but he was not to let his hand be seen. What the Emperor could not or did not wish to say was to be done by the country through the ambassador's influence. The latter was ordered to obtain from the Polish nation the revival of the great confederations, a pronouncement of its wishes, a vigorous display of all its forces, and a general revolt against Russia. The ambassador did exactly the contrary. He made it his task to calm all agitation, to annihilate all manifestation, to cool all enthusiasm. He was ordered to keep the Diet constantly assembled, to inspire it, to keep up the warmth of its patriotic feelings and the excitement with which its members were animated, and finally to keep it permanently in session, so that there should always be a tribune from which the voices of those authorized to speak could address the country, inflame the minds of men and keep the holy flame aglow. M. de Pradt dismissed this assembly after a three days' sitting; he sent the deputies back

to their homes and retained alone a committee which he only assembled on rare occasions and which he prevented from acting in any way. A manifesto, comprising addresses by Polish ministers of approved talent and patriotism, whose voices were known to the Polish people, had been written. The ambassador rewrote these according to his own way of thinking, considering that they were written in savage style, and thus stripped these of their national character. In this same way he disfigured the very pronouncement of the confederation.

The Emperor hearing, at Vilna, of conduct so opposed to the orders he had given and so utterly inconsistent, regretted his choice and thought of recalling M. de Pradt; but fearing that such a recall, under existing circumstances, might produce a bad effect, contented himself with sending him a severe reprimand and renewing his instructions in a positive and peremptory manner. The delirium of pride however blinded the archbishop. He woke up one day with the idea that the duchy was threatened by sixty thousand Russians, and at once thought of flight. He is urged to take advantage of the anxiety caused by this rumour to excite the Poles, to urge them on to levy troops, to organize guerillas and to increase the numbers of agents of the insurrection. On the morrow, this imaginary danger having passed away, M. de Pradt considers these measures useless and falls back again into a state of apathy.

There can be no doubt that the co-operation of the Poles would have been unanimous if the Emperor's instructions could have been faithfully carried out, but the man who represented France at Warsaw seemed to make it his duty to paralyze their efforts.

When one considers how M. de Pradt behaved in his embassy, as proved by his own despatches, by the Emperor's instructions and the correspondence of the Ministry of Exterior Relations, one is tempted to accuse this fatal person of treachery, but the frivolity and the inconsistence of his character exclude such an idea. One cannot admit the suspicion that he had conceived two years in advance the plan of working in an underhand way towards the overthrow of the Empire. All the evil he occasioned in the course of the mission to Warsaw with which Napoleon had intrusted him, was inspired to him by his overweening arrogance and his foolish and ridiculous vanity.

It remained only for the man who had basely flattered Napoleon in the days of his power, who had caused him such serious damage by his incapable conduct in Poland, to hurl calumny and insult in the face of the august and unhappy man; nor did he fail to do so, acting like a faithless servant, as soon as, having nothing more to expect from his ancient benefactor and master, he had, at the same time, no more reason to fear him. The "History of the Embassy to Warsaw" is a monument of ingratitude and cowardice, to which History ought to do justice had it ever occasion to deal with its author.*†

* "Wretched scoundrel!" such is Napoleon's description of M. de Pradt.

† Dominique Dufour, Abbé de Pradt, was born in 1759, was grand vicar of Rouen in 1789, emigrated in 1791, returned to France in 1801 and, thanks to Duroc, his kinsman, was successively appointed almoner to the Emperor, baron, Bishop of Poitiers and Archbishop of Mechlin. After his imbecile conduct in Warsaw he was sent back to his diocese and became the violent enemy of Napoleon. He was, however, coldly treated by the Bourbons, and resigned his archbishopric in 1816. In 1827 he was elected deputy of the Puy-de-Dôme department, but soon resigned. He died in 1837. His "History of the Embassy to the Grand-Duchy of Warsaw" was published in 1815. He was also the author of other political and historical works, one of which, his "*Quatre Concordats*," (1818) figures on the Index Expurgatorius in Rome.—R. H. S.

A provisional government was established at Vilna. It was composed of seven members belonging to the most important families in Lithuania. Here are their names: Count Soltan, Prince Alexander Sapieha, Count Potocki, Count Sierakowski, Count Prozor, Count Tysenhaus, and the President of the University of Vilna, M. Sniadecki. A guard of honour under the command of Count Oginski was placed at the Emperor's service, followed him to Moscow, and accompanied him on his retreat as far as Vilna. This guard of honour, which was small in number, but whose zeal never slackened for an instant, formed the nucleus of the second regiment of light Polish cavalry of the Guard. Many leading Poles, prompted by patriotic feelings, and animated by the hope of contributing in a more efficacious manner to the re-establishment of the Polish nation, followed the Imperial headquarters as volunteers, sharing the vicissitudes and the dangers of the French army.

The Emperor appointed the Duke de Bassano Governor of Lithuania, but established him at Vilna with a mission to act as the centre of correspondence and organization. M. de Bassano was charged with publishing the news concerning the operations of the French army, with corresponding with Austria, Prussia, and especially with Turkey, whom it was a matter of great importance to watch over, and if needs be to excite against Russia. This last part of Napoleon's instructions could not always be carried out with the required promptitude. Various causes contributed to this, especially the slowness and difficulties of communication, which increased as the army moved further and further away from Vilna. The Duke de Bassano was also ordered to correspond

with the Warsaw Government, and sometimes to transmit orders to the corps which were ranged on the rear of the army; and finally to provide for stores, war ammunition, and provisions. The couriers, officers, and auditors, who came from France, called in at Vilna on their way, and were sent on from thence by M. de Bassano to the Emperor's headquarters.

It was near Vilna that Napoleon met the Crown Prince of Wurtemburg at the head of his contingent. He blamed this Prince severely for the insubordination of the Wurtemburgers, who committed such disorders that complaints were being made on every side against these ruthless pillagers, both from the French and Polish authorities and from the inhabitants. The Emperor pointed out to the Crown Prince in a very violent manner, how urgent it was that these disorders should be checked. He listened to the remonstrances with coldness, and did not answer. The Crown Prince considered himself humiliated, and bore a grudge in consequence.

We think that the following extract from General Gourgaud's work, entitled "*A Critical Examination of the Count de Ségur's Work*" will be read with interest. It gives some particulars of the way in which Napoleon usually spent his time when he was on campaign:—

"The active life which he (the Emperor) led was subordinated to the military operations. As a rule he used to ride along with the army when in pursuit of or near the enemy. When the army was engaged in grand manœuvres and the operations took place at great distances he waited until the corps which were to march by approached the positions which he had

ordered them to take up, and would then remain at head-quarters. There he used to receive the reports which were addressed to him either directly or through the Major-General by the officers in command of the various corps. In the meantime he used to give his attention to the home government of France, answer the reports which were sent to him from Paris by the ministers, who were in the habit of writing to him every day, and the reports of the ministers in council which were carried to him every week by an auditor of the Council of State, who was put at the disposal of the Intendant General of the army to be used in different missions. In this way he governed his Empire, at the same time that he directed his army. Economical with his time he calculated the moment of his departure so as to find himself at the head of his troops at the moment when his presence there became necessary. He would then proceed thither in his carriage with full speed. But even during this journey he did not remain idle, but busied himself in reading his despatches, and very often received reports from his generals, and answered them forthwith. Estafettes brought his despatches from Paris enclosed in a portfolio which was locked, and these despatches were sometimes given to him at the same time.* By means of a lamp which was placed at the back of his carriage, and which lighted up the carriage during the night, he was able to work as though he had been in his work-room. The Major-General usually accompanied him in these journeys. His aides-de-camp and orderlies marched by the door of the carriage, and a brigade of his saddle-horses followed with the escort.

"Such was the privileged constitution of this extra-

* Méneval points out that a word is wanting in this sentence.—R. H. S.

ordinary man that he could sleep an hour, be awakened to give an order, go to sleep again, be awakened anew, without suffering for it in his health or in his rest. Six hours of sleep were sufficient for him whether taken consecutively or whether spread over intervals in the twenty-four hours.

"On the days which preceded the battle he was constantly on horseback, reconnoitring the enemy's forces, deciding upon the battle-field, and riding round the bivouacs of his army corps. Even in the night he used to visit the lines to assure himself once more of the enemy's forces by the number of its fires, and would tire out several horses in the space of a few hours. On the day of the battle he would place himself at some central point, whence he could see all that was going on. He had his aides-de-camp and orderly officers by him, and used to send them to carry his orders in every direction. At some distance behind the Emperor were four squadrons of the guard, one belonging to each branch of the service, but when he left this position he only took a platoon with him as escort. He used usually to inform his marshals of the place which he had chosen, so as to be easily found by the officers whom they might send to him. As soon as his presence became necessary he would ride off there at a gallop."

I, on my side, can add to these details that everywhere where the Emperor halted, whether at a castle, a cottage, or a hovel, his first care was for his work-room. As soon as Napoleon had taken possession of his temporary lodging, the portfolio containing his papers, his maps, and two or three mahogany boxes divided into compartments which contained his travelling

library, were set out on tables, when tables were to be found, or on planks, or doors laid upon trestles. When there was only one room, his little iron bed and his toilet-bag were also placed there. There he would dictate the numerous orders which it was necessary for him to send off. The Major-General who always lived within call used to lay the reports which he had received before him, and carry back the answers forthwith.

When the operations of the war obliged Napoleon to remain for any length of time in one of his winter quarters, or in one of the capitals which he had conquered, his time was for the greater part taken up with the occupations of his cabinet. He attended to the needs of the army without neglecting the affairs or the details of the government of the Empire. He used to summon to him the minister secretary of state, who brought him the work which had been despatched by the council of Ministers and received instructions, orders, and decisions, which he was charged to forward to Paris. The Emperor despatched numerous orders providing for the repose of the troops, to assign the places which they were to occupy, to reorganize them, to prepare them to be in a better position to resume hostilities. He watched over the carrying out of his orders with the greatest care, and in order to better obtain this result he would frequently repeat them. He used to go out every day, no matter what the weather might be, to hold reviews. Sometimes he would undertake short excursions to visit the corps of his army or strategical positions. In the train of each corps he had a brigade of saddle-horses composed of six or seven horses, two of which were for his personal

use, the others for his officers, a field bedstead, and a portmanteau containing changes of clothes. Napoleon used to lunch and dine every day with the Major-General, and with some marshals or general officers. He was fond of playing at whist after dinner, and sometimes at vingt-et-un, a game which he preferred because everybody present could take part in it. Over these games of cards he would forget the labours and the cares of the day. As a general rule he would never occupy himself with two things at the same time, his entire attention being given to the pleasures as to the duties of the moment. Moderate stakes only were played for, none the less Napoleon took a great interest in the game. He would sometimes associate one of the officers present in his game as a half partner, and if fortune favoured the Emperor, would hand over all his winnings to him.

Familiar with the soldiers, benevolent towards the officers, Napoleon was accessible to all in the army. In the camp all etiquette was banished in the entirely military relations between the sovereign and his comrades-in-arms. The private was authorized to leave the ranks, on presenting arms, and to lay any request he might have to make before the Emperor, either verbally or in writing. Such requests, whether they were granted or refused, were immediately attended to by the Emperor. When it happened that the petition could not be granted the soldier was always told the reason of such refusal, which was explained to him with kindness. Very often the refusal was compensated for by the grant of some other favour. If any officer had a confession to make to Napoleon, the Emperor was always ready to hear him, and would listen to him in a paternal manner.

Before continuing the account of the Russian campaign, I must rectify a certain error which has been repeated by some of Napoleon's historians. It is a fact that the Prince of Wagram has been accused of having on various occasions transformed, or even suppressed orders which the Emperor had given him, or of having delayed to forward them. To make such a statement is to show one's complete ignorance of the way in which the Major-General used to work with Napoleon. The Major-General, who was always lodged within call of the Emperor, was, so to speak, endowed with the faculty of sleeping with one eye open, and he needed very little sleep. He was always found awake by the officer who bore the despatch which was sent to him. He would then proceed to the Emperor, followed by the officer, so that Napoleon, in case of need, could examine the latter. If the Emperor were in bed he would get up at once, put on a white swan-skin or *piqué* dressing-gown and dictate an answer to the Major-General. The latter would send it as it was written to the marshals or generals, having at the same time copied into his book of orders the name of the officer who was charged with carrying it to its address, and the mention of the hour on which this officer had been despatched. Before giving another order the Emperor used to have the book of orders laid before him, and would re-read the preceding orders. The marshals and the generals never failed to add with the date of their letters the mention of the hour on which they wrote them.

Anybody who knew Prince de Wagram is well aware that this marshal was incapable of committing

such an abuse of confidence, both by the loyalty of his character, as by the feeling of his responsibility. Nature moreover had given him neither the spirit of intrigue nor the audacity requisite to defy the consequences of forgetting his duties in such a manner.

I have heard it said that Prince de Wagram was a model of chief staff-officers, that his absence during the 1815 campaign was fatal to the Emperor. I am far from wishing to contest the talents of General Berthier, displayed in the campaigns of Italy, Egypt, the Consulate, and during the first campaigns under the Empire. He was young at that time, as Napoleon used to say of himself, and his comrades-in-arms, and he had his fortune to make; but I should not be telling the truth if I did not add that in proportion as honours and riches came to General Berthier the solid and real qualities which had distinguished him diminished. In this connection I will simply relate what I witnessed during the 1812 campaign. The Emperor would often blame him for his carelessness in my presence. "Berthier," he used to say to him, "I would give an arm to have you at Grosbois. Not only are you no good, but you are actually in my way." After these little quarrels Berthier would sulk, and refuse to come to dinner (he was Napoleon's habitual table-fellow). The Emperor would then send for him, and would not sit down to dinner until he had come; he would put his arms round his neck, tell him that they were inseparable, etc., would chaff him about Madame Visconti, and in the end would seat him at the table opposite him.

On arriving in the evening at any place where he was to pass the night, the Emperor would often

think it his duty to provide at once for the establishment of his guard, and the troops who had followed him, unless he had some pressing orders to give.

He would remain on horseback and visit the bivouacs round his house to see if the soldiers had food, if communications between them were easy and, in one word, would fulfil the functions of a simple staff-officer. Whilst Napoleon was absent himself in this way the Major-General, leaving him to the occupation, would hurry off to his house, and settle himself in it.

It happened that I was sent one day by the Emperor to the Major-General—I do not remember what for—and I found him alone in his bedroom, with his head on his hands, and his elbows on the table. He raised his eyes up to me glistening with tears. When I asked him what was grieving him he broke out into bitter complaint on the wretchedness of his position. "What is the good," he said, "of having given me an income of £60,000 a year, a magnificent mansion in Paris, a splendid estate, in order to inflict the tortures of Tantalus upon me. I shall die here with all this work. The simplest private is happier than I am." Then, wiping his eyes with his hand: "Well! What is up now? Must send for Salamon, Leduc." These were his secretaries. Of course I took very good care not to repeat these remarks to the Emperor, who by the way, was only too well aware of the state of things. Napoleon was attached to Berthier, in spite of all his imperfections, by a bond which was a very strong one with him, the tie of custom. Later on, he regretted the absence of his old comrade-in-arms, not on account of the qualities which the Major-General no

longer possessed, but because, having been long accustomed to his services, the Emperor remained in the illusions of the past. A more capable chief of the staff would perhaps have rendered Napoleon better services, but nobody, in his eyes, could replace Berthier, who had begun with him, and who had never left him. Born in prosperous times, this superstitious confidence inspired the Emperor with a feeling of security, more apparent than real, in the collaboration of this old comrade-in-arms. I have heard Napoleon say that he had taken Berthier as a "gosling," and had transformed him into an eagle; and it must be admitted that he knew the man whom he had created Prince de Wagram. In 1814, indeed, at Fontainebleau, when Berthier asked his leave to go and spend two days in Paris, to put his affairs in order, the Emperor, having seen him depart, could not refrain from exclaiming: "There's one who won't come back." *

The false position in which Major-General Berthier placed the French army at the beginning of the 1809 campaign, has been censured from a technical point of view, and his military capacities have been disputed; but this is a point on which I cannot dwell, because, in the first place, I am no judge of such matters, and secondly because I do not wish to expose myself to the accusation of having vilified him. Why, indeed, speak of the military talents of Prince de Wagram, who never was in chief command..... If he was in

* Berthier did *not* come back. He made his submission to Louis XVIII. who created him peer and marshal. On Napoleon's return from Elba he retired to Bamberg, and committed suicide at the castle there, on June 1st, 1815, by dashing himself out of the window. He was buried in the Church at Banz. His son was an ardent supporter of Napoleon III.—R. H. S.

the secret of the most skilful combinations, of the most marvellous plans of campaign, genius cannot be acquired, nor did the Major-General do more than order the details of their execution. He can console himself for having occasionally drawn the Emperor's reproaches upon himself; for there is nothing humiliating in certain criticisms, when they proceed from so superior a man as was Napoleon. There are however, some people who are not convinced of the prodigious genius which is personified in the name of Napoleon..... Now Berthier, Talleyrand, and so many others *never gave an order, and never wrote a despatch which had not been dictated by Napoleon.* Napoleon had not alone the initiative of the conceptions, but further reserved to himself the details of all these matters. I do not say that he was altogether in the right in wishing thus to do all himself; but the superhuman activity of his genius carried him away, and he felt that he had the means and the time to suffice for all. His part was to organize, to create, and he filled this part in all its details; writing despatches, no matter of what nature; giving instructions for missions of every kind, military, administrative, financial, literary; drawing up notes to be presented by his ambassadors to the Courts to which they were accredited, and so on, all was written by him, as though at play, and without any apparent mental strain. In this way Napoleon glorified the men whom he employed, since everything appeared to have been conceived and drawn up by them, whereas in truth it was all done by him.

These digressions have made me lose sight of my subject. I hope the reader will pardon me. I am carried away, in spite of myself, by the tyranny of old remembrances.

Having left Vilna on July 18th, the Emperor marched to Glubokoï where he established the army magazines, and thence to Becken-Kovitski, where, for a moment, he hoped to come up with the Russian army; and spent a day at the country-house of the Polish Count Kreptovich. This beautiful residence, the abode of the arts, decorated with very fine pictures and with flowers everywhere, which contrasted strangely with the horrors of war, was in perfect order when we entered it. This house had been so suddenly abandoned that every trace of its recent occupation still remained. There was still to be seen a cradle in which was the soft impress of the body of the child which had lain in it. The marriage of the master and mistress of this house had been accompanied by a tragical circumstance, which was told to me on the scene of the drama. Mademoiselle de Renn, a Russian by birth, was loved by an officer named Arseniew, who was in the Russian Emperor's guards. This officer hearing of the projected marriage between Count Kreptovich and Mademoiselle de Renn, went to his rival and threatened to kill him if he persisted in his design. Kreptovich answered that this threat only decided him to hurry on the marriage; a duel followed in which M. Arseniew lost his life. A taste for the arts, for music and painting was stronger in Count Kreptovich than his love for the wife whom he had won at the point of his sword. He left his home for the hazards of a wandering life, went round the world, explored Asia and Africa, always bearing with him two inseparable vade-mecums, his violin, and a picture which he could not live without.

After having lost at the battle of Ostrowno, in which it was at first thought that the entire Russian army would take part, the hope of inducing Barclai de Tolli, the Russian general, to engage in a great battle, Napoleon made his way to Vitepsk. He was tired of uselessly pursuing an army whose chief—and this is nothing but the truth—could not make up his mind to fight him. One day the Russian general seemed full of fire, determined to retreat no further without engaging in a decisive encounter.... The next day the phantom of Napoleon's presence once more impressed itself on his mind and all his resolutions of the day before vanished.

The fact that Napoleon spent a fortnight at Vitepsk, and that during that time he gave orders for the construction of certain defences and the establishment of a large bake-house, gave rise to the idea that he wished to camp round this city and select this point for his line of defence. But it was impossible for him to terminate the campaign in the month of July without even having been able to come into contact with the enemy's army. The object of this halt was to rest the army, which stood in need of repose, and to watch the movements of the Russians. Hearing that they were leaving the vicinity of Smolensk to come and attack him the Emperor made haste to march to meet them, proceeding rapidly along the left bank of the Dnieper and ascending the course of this stream to reach Smolensk, before they had had time to return there. This movement, hiding the march of the French army from the enemy placed it on their flank and rear. The audacity and skill of this manœuvre have been admired by the Russians themselves and it has been

considered the finest of the campaign. But Napoleon's star was already waning. The eighth corps commanded by General Junot went astray on the road, and Marshal Ney's attack on the citadel of Smolensk was unfortunately unsuccessful. General Barclai, tardily apprised of the movements of the French army, hastened to return to Smolensk which was successfully defended during a whole day by two Russian divisions who were shut up in this fortified place, time being thus given to the two Russian armies to come to the rescue. Napoleon had hoped that Barclai would not let this city, the key of old Russia, fall into our hands without a decisive battle, but he only resisted long enough to cover his retreat and operate his junction with Bagration whose army had got past the French corps which had been ordered to cut off its retreat.

The question as to whether a halt should be made at Smolensk was again discussed between Napoleon and his lieutenants. The reasons which had prompted the Emperor at Vitepsk to continue his march forward remained the same at Smolensk. The French army could only have ceased its movements and have taken up its quarters in these two cities if one of those splendid victories to which the French were accustomed had come to give hopes for peace. The Russians on the contrary had fought no battle to defend this bulwark of Russia and did not show themselves on the other hand at all disposed to open negotiations. It was then the month of August and it was quite out of the question for the French army to spend the rest of the summer at Smolensk. There was at that time no reason for retreating or for taking up a position behind rivers, which, frozen hard in the winter,

would no longer be a protection against the enemy. Were we to wait in a continued attitude of defence, a kind of war which is antipathetic to the French character, at a distance of five hundred leagues from our frontiers .... to give our adversaries time to look round and to employ for our destruction the resources of every kind which they so easily derived from their native soil? Napoleon did not think so. The Russians would at last be forced to stand a battle to defend Moscow. There then lay peace. That is what the Emperor thought. One great victory and this great object was attained. The Emperor Alexander would be forced to treat. This peace, added Napoleon, would have limited our war expeditions. It was the crown of our efforts, the commencement of security.

During the march of the French army on Smolensk, the encounter with a Russian division gave rise to the combat of Krasnoi. It was during one of the brilliant cavalry charges which were carried out during this combat that young Marbeuf was mortally wounded. The loss of this officer gave great grief to the Emperor. This young man had been presented to him by his mother, widow of Count Marbeuf, the former governor of the island of Corsica, whom she had married, when a widower. When Madame de Marbeuf presented her son to the Emperor in 1805, he was twenty years old. Napoleon admitted him amongst his orderly officers. The following letter, which we think right to reproduce, will show what remembrance Napoleon had retained of the interest formerly shown to the Bonaparte family by M. de Marbeuf.

"PARIS, 18 VENTÔSE, Year XIII (MARCH 9th, 1805).

"M. DE MARBEUF—officer in the 25th regiment of dragoons—I have granted you for life a pension of six thousand francs on the Crown treasure, and I have given orders to M. de Fleurieu, my intendant, to send you the warrant for the same. I am giving orders that there shall be paid to you out of my privy purse, a sum of twelve thousand francs for your outfit. It is my wish to give you, under all circumstances, a proof of the interest I take in you on account of the good recollection I have of the services rendered to me by your father, whose memory is dear to me. I rely in the hope that you will follow in his footsteps. And hereupon I pray God to have you in His holy keeping.

"NAPOLEON."

The Emperor, so to speak, adopted this young man whom he intended to raise to a high degree of fortune. He had entailed a fine house at No. 11, Rue de Montblanc, upon him. This house had been bought from the Receiver-General Pierlot and, after M. de Marbeuf's death, the Emperor bestowed it on the Duke of Padua.

Napoleon always used to treat young Marbeuf's mother with great respect. It has been related that at the time of the establishment of the imperial households the Lady Mother suggested to Napoleon that he should appoint Madame de Marbeuf one of her ladies-in-waiting and that Napoleon refused from a feeling of delicacy. He is said to have answered: "After what M. Marbeuf was for us, it would not be right for his widow to be in our service."

Madame de Marbeuf, inconsolable for her son's death, separated herself from her daughter, who had married Count Louis d'Ambrugeac, who owed the favour in

which he stood with the Emperor to this marriage, and who was a colonel in 1813. She retired into the convent of the Sacred Heart and died there in 1839, at the age of seventy-six, the same age at which her husband, whom she survived fifty-three years, had died.

After having set fire to Smolensk before leaving it, the enemy continued its retrograde movement. One half of the Russian army was attacked on the heights of Valoutinia-Gora by Marshal Ney's corps, supported by the Gudin division. These corps performed prodigies of valour in this encounter. The inconceivable action of General Junot, in command of the Westphalian troops, in refusing to march to the rear of the Russians and to cut off their retreat, saved the enemy's forces once more. Brave General Gudin had both his legs shot off by a cannon-ball in this engagement. As to Junot, he had disobeyed not only the repeated orders of the Emperor to march to Ney's assistance, but also the pressing request of the King of Naples, who had gone to him to convince him of what he ought to do. The Emperor heard what was going on, at Smolensk where he had remained, not foreseeing that this encounter might develop into a battle. When he arrived the struggle had nearly finished and the Russian army was continuing its retreat. Napoleon addressed the severest reproaches to General Junot but this unfortunate general was then already experiencing the first attacks of the mental malady which broke out with such violence a year later.* The Emperor had chosen Rapp, who spoke German, and who had all his wits about him, to take his place. The refusal

*General Junot, Andoche, Duke of Abrantès (born October 23rd, 1771) committed suicide, whilst insane, at Montbard on July 92th, 1813.—S.H.R.

of Rapp, who interceded for his brother-in-arms, and a feeling of benevolence, which Napoleon could not help feeling for the oldest of his aides-de-camp, maintained the Duc d'Abrantès at the head of his army corps. General Gudin was transported to Smolensk but all the Emperor's care was unable to preserve his life. He died regretted by his sovereign and the whole army, who appreciated his eminent qualities. Gudin was buried in the citadel of Smolensk.

Certain advantages gained by the right wing of the army, under the command of Prince Schwarzenberg, and an important success achieved on the left wing by General Gouvion Saint-Cyr, who had replaced Marshal Oudinot, who had been seriously wounded, in command, a success which won a Marshal's *bâton* for the General, consoled the Emperor in some measure for all these mishaps.

The army followed the Russians on their retreat without respite. After having set fire to the cities of Gjatz and Viazma and their rich bazaars, the enemy's forces halted at last at Mojaisk. There it was learned that Marshal Kutusoff had replaced General Barclai de Tolli * in the command-in-chief of the Russian army.

On the eve of the memorable battle of Moskova, in the midst of the serious anxieties occasioned by the murderous fight in which he was about to engage, the Emperor received the portrait of his son. The Empress had commissioned M. de Bausset, who was proceeding to headquarters, to carry the young prince's portrait to his father. In his impatience the Emperor ordered the box containing the picture to be opened at once,

*I have preserved Méneval's way of spelling this name, although the general's name is usually spelt Barclay de Tolly. He was of Scotch extraction (1759—1818).—R. H. S.

under his eyes. The royal infant was represented sitting in its cradle playing with a cup and ball. The ball might have been taken for the globe of the world and the cup-stick for a sceptre. Napoleon contemplated his son's picture with an emotion which was increased by the recollection of the distance which separated him from France as well as by the preparations for a battle which he had long wished for, but the approach of which filled him with anxiety. He ordered one of his valets to carry the picture outside his tent and to hold it up high enough that the sentry of the guards might see it. This sight brought all the officers and soldiers who were in the neighbourhood running up. To satisfy the curiosity of the military crowd, which kept increasing, the Emperor ordered the portrait of the King of Rome to be placed on one of the folding-chairs in his tent and left it standing all day in sight of the army. The sympathy and the sentiments of all these good soldiers ended by breaking out into a manifestation which deeply touched the Emperor.

Marshal Kutusoff awaited the French army, near the Borodino, in a fortified position defended in the middle by means of a great bastioned redout, flanked with other defence works. These redouts, stubbornly fought for, taken by the French and retaken by the Russians in turn, finally remained in our hands. General Montbrun and after him General Caulaincourt, brother of the Grand Equerry, met with a glorious death there. Three hundred thousand men fought on this murderous day of September 7th with an unexampled implacability. Eight hundred cannon vomited forth death into the ranks of the two armies. This battle to which the Russians have given the name of Borodino and

which the French call the battle of La Moskova is one of the most murderous battles which were ever fought. It may rightly be styled a battle of giants. The Russians admit having lost fifty thousand men, killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. This enormous loss must be attributed to the passive courage which they opposed to the attacks on the redouts, allowing themselves to be killed rather than to surrender them. The losses of the French army may be estimated at thirty thousand men put *hors de combat.* Thirty Russian generals and fifteen French generals were killed, wounded, or made prisoners. The two armies, sated with bloodshed, stayed their hands towards the end of the day, the French army remaining master of all the positions and the Russian army preparing for a retreat.

The Emperor Napoleon has been blamed for not having completed the routing of the enemy by ordering out the imperial guard which took no part in the action. He answered the remonstrances which were made on this subject with the following words: "If there's a second battle to-morrow, with what shall I fight it?" As a matter of fact Kutusoff thought of fighting a second battle on the morrow. If the respective states of the two armies be considered, one will be seen with its back to its capital, from which it is able to draw reinforcements and resources, an army fighting for its home and animated with religious and patriotic fanaticism; the other more than eight hundred leagues distant from France, without any means of receiving immediate reinforcements, and obliged finally to return home sooner or later. So great a captain as was Napoleon could not commit the

imprudence of remaining disarmed before the possible return on the offensive of an adversary who did not consider himself defeated. A reserve force of twenty thousand fresh men, as bold as were the imperial guards, could decide a victory in case a second battle became necessary. Was it not, indeed, the guard which later on protected our retreat? The Emperor allowed the young guard to occupy the field of battle, giving orders for its support in case the enemy, receiving reinforcements, should attempt a fresh attack during the night.

After the bitterly contested day of La Moskova, Napoleon halted at a little country-house, situated at no great distance from the field of battle. The nights which he had passed in four consecutive bivouacs, where he had constantly been on his legs, and the great fatigues which he had had to undergo, gave him a cold which very soon degenerated into an extinction of the voice, which greatly annoyed him. He, whose hand could not suffice to write down the thoughts which flooded his volcanic brain, was seen reduced to the necessity of scribbling roughly the multifarious orders which had to be given in every direction, on little squares of paper. On the morrow he had already got rid of this passing ailment.

After an encounter which was fought outside Moscow, an encounter which at first induced the belief that the Russians really intended to defend this city, the front-guard of the French army arrived in front of this old capital of the Russian Empire, and the sight of Moscow, which was to be seen from the heights, filled it with a joy which rapidly communicated itself to the rest of the army. It was hoped that repose and especially

abundance would be found there. A curious and impressive sight was this sudden appearance of this great city, Asiatic rather than European, spreading out at the end of a desert and naked plain, topped with its twelve hundred spires and sky-blue cupolas, strewn with golden stars, and linked one to the other with gilded chains. This conquest had been dearly paid for, but Napoleon at that time lulled himself in the hope that he would be able to dictate peace there. The King of Naples, who entered it first, sent word to the Emperor that the city appeared to be deserted and that no civil or military functionary, nor nobleman, nor priest had presented himself. The Russian army had taken away the majority of the inhabitants of Moscow in its train. Some Russian and foreign dealers, who had managed to escape this order, came to see the Emperor and implored him to protect them against the pillaging with which they thought themselves menaced. There had remained in the city only a few thousand people belonging to the lowest classes of society, who had nothing to lose by awaiting the course of events.

Napoleon passed this night of September 14th in the Dorogomilow faubourg, and only entered Moscow on the morrow. This entry was not accompanied by that tumult which marks the taking possession of a great city. No noise disturbed the solitude of the city streets, save only the rumbling of the cannon and of the artillery caissons. Moscow seemed asleep in deep sleep, like one of those enchanted cities of which we read in Arabian tales. The streets through which we passed were lined with houses of fine appearance for the most part, with closed windows and doors. Palaces

with colonnades, churches and beautiful buildings glittering with the luxury of Europe and of Asia raised themselves side by side with very modest habitations. All bespoke the ease and wealth of a great city enriched by trade and inhabited by a wealthy and numerous aristocracy. Some of the principal houses which we were able to enter were well appointed and well furnished, many even magnificently so, and their inhabitants did not appear to have abandoned them for ever.

The Emperor proceeded directly to the Kremlin, a large citadel placed in the centre of the town, on the top of a hill, surrounded with an embattled wall and flanked at intervals with towers armed with cannon. The Kremlin is a second city. It contains the imperial palace, the arsenal, the Senate palace, the archives, the principal public establishments, a large number of churches, temples filled with historical curiosities, objects serving for the coronation of the sovereigns, and lastly trophies and flags taken from the Turks. It is in one of the principal temples that are the tombs of the Czars. In this imposing fane reigns a magnificence which is half barbaric and of a primitive character. The walls are covered with thick plates of gold and silver on which are figured in relief the principal incidents of the Sacred History. Enormous silver lamps of Byzantine shape hang from the arches of the building, large many-branched chandeliers of the same metal stand on pedestals on the floor. There is also to be seen in this sanctuary a portrait of the Holy Virgin attributed to St. Luke, the frame of this picture is enriched with pearls and precious stones. A great bell-tower, known as the Ivan tower was

surmounted by a gigantic cross in the centre of which was enchased a cross of pure gold containing a fragment of the true cross. This cross and a number of curious objects which could be removed were to be sent to Paris from the Kremlin.

Hardly had the Emperor entered the Kremlin than fire broke out in the Kitaigorod, or Chinese city, an immense bazaar, surrounded by porticoes, in which were heaped up, in large shops or in cellars, the entrances to which were placed in the middle of the streets, precious goods of every kind, such as shawls, furs, Indian and Chinese tissues. Fruitless efforts were made to extinguish the flames, and the burning of the bazaar became the signal for a general conflagration in the city. This conflagration, spreading rapidly, devoured three-quarters of Moscow in three days. Each moment one saw smoke followed by flames breaking out of houses which had remained intact and in the end the fire broke out in every house in the city. The town was one mighty furnace from which sheaves of fire burst heavenwards lighting up the horizon with the glaring flames and spreading a burning heat. These masses of flame, mingling together, were rapidly caught up by a strong wind which spread them in every direction. They were accompanied by a succession of whistling noises and explosions caused by the falling walls and the explosion of inflammable materials which were stored in the shops and houses. To these roaring noises, to these sinister outbreaks added themselves the cries and yells of the wretched people who were caught by the flames in the houses which they had entered to pillage and which many escaped only to perish in the streets which formed a

blazing labyrinth from which all escape was impossible. Motionless and in the silence of stupor we looked on at this horrible and magnificent spectacle, with the feeling of our absolute helplessness to render any assistance.

Rapid and frequent gunshots announced that prompt justice was being meted out to the incendiaries who were taken in the act, still holding their sulphur fuses in their hands, and flying from the houses to which they had just set fire. The Emperor had given orders that a house which he could inhabit during his stay in Moscow should be found for him. The Sloboda palace, built and decorated with great luxury by the Empress Catherine, had been selected for this purpose. The Major-General and M. de Narbonne, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, went by his order to inspect this palace and found it perfectly suited for the purpose. The chandeliers were still filled with candles. This royal abode seemed to be deserted and entrance had to be made through a window. When General Narbonne returned to take possession of it, after having informed Napoleon of the result of his visit, the fire had already broken out in it in several places simultaneously, and on the morrow this palace was completely destroyed.

Count Rostopchin, governor of Moscow, after having employed every means of acting upon the stupid minds of a credulous population, had had sufficient audacity to take upon himself the responsibility of destroying the second capital of the Empire. Did he take so cruel a resolution alone, or was he authorized by Alexander's secret consent to carry out this fearful auto-da-fé? Did the incitations of the old Russian party

weigh with all the weight of their fanaticism on the governor's savage decision? One and all reject the responsibility of this terrible catastrophe. To accomplish his detestable project, Rostopchin set a number of galley-slaves at liberty, distributed them over different quarters of the town, where they hid themselves in the principal buildings and in houses which had been abandoned. Under the pretext of constructing an enormous balloon which was to pour down inflammable material on the French troops Rostopchin ordered the manufacture of fireworks for setting fire to the houses and of fuses to be thrown on the roofs of the houses. On leaving Moscow the governor had sent the inhabitants of every class on before him, who carried off their most valuable belongings. He had even had the infernal inspiration of removing the fire-engines with him. Certain writers have had the courage to admire such a resolution. What advantage had Russia to gain from this fearful sacrifice? The examples of moderation given by the French army, during our soldiers' occupation of nearly every capital in Europe, did they not guarantee the victor's protection to the city of Moscow? If the author of this destruction, after really being cruelly inspired thereto, had shared the dangers which resulted therefrom and had buried himself under the ruins of the city which he had doomed to the flames, one might in an extremity excuse the excess of his fanaticism. But since then Paris has seen this same man, protected by our hospitality, seeking after the most refined pleasures of our civilization, applauding the jokes of our mountebanks, and manifesting the most profound indifference for a disaster for the horror of which his heart should ever have bled, even in the consciousness

of having accomplished an act of lofty patriotism.*

The flames which were consuming Moscow reached the Kremlin and threatened the safety of its walls. The wind blew sparks and blazing fragments with violence, which falling into the courtyard of the arsenal, set fire to the tow with which the ground was covered. There was danger of the artillery caissons exploding. This danger, which was fortunately avoided, did not shake Napoleon's resolution, for his soul never knew the feeling of fear. He did not think it necessary as yet to leave the Kremlin, the danger which he ran there, deciding him, on the contrary, to remain. Prince Eugene and the Marshals of his guard in vain implored him to withdraw and in the meanwhile the conflagration, drawing closer, increased in intensity. The panes in the windows of the apartment occupied by the Emperor became red-hot and flames shooting out everywhere, threatened to surround the Kremlin and to utterly destroy it. Napoleon, however, still hesitated. He was loth to flee from danger and to abandon a conquest which he had bought at such a price. He only yielded when it was pointed out to him that if he did not leave he might be separated from the corps which were stationed outside Moscow, with which all communications would be cut off, in case of an attack by the enemy. Napoleon then at last decided to leave the city and withdrew to Petrowskoi, an imperial residence situated at a distance of about one league from Moscow, whence the Czars used to depart to make their solemn entry into their ancient capital

* Rostopchin denied having any part in the destruction of Moscow. See his "*Vérité sur l'incendie de Moscou,*" published in 1824. His biography by de Ségur, published in 1873, repeats this denial.—R. H. S.

where the ceremony of coronation used to take place. The Emperor left the Kremlin, by one of its big gates, on foot, followed by his officers, and without any accident. On arriving at the Moskova quay he mounted on horseback and safely accomplished the ride from Moscow to Petrowskoi, passing through the quarters of the town in which the houses were entirely consumed and avoiding the streets where the fire was still in full activity. Napoleon thus avoided the danger of being crushed beneath the falling varnished iron plates, with which most of the buildings were covered, as the houses in the quarters through which he passed were already reduced to smouldering ashes. As a matter of fact, however, even in the quarters where the flames were at their height, the fall of these iron plates was menacing rather than dangerous and it was easy to avoid them. My colleague Mounier and myself drove through these quarters in a carriage and met with no accidents. Napoleon spent two days at Petrowskoi and then returned to the Kremlin.

On his return to Moscow, the Emperor did not limit himself to providing for the needs of the army alone, but gave the reins to his usual prodigious activity. He threw open to the wretched inhabitants who had remained in the town and who had been reduced by the fire to a state of utter destitution, refuges and shelters and at the same time ordered provisions and money to be distributed among them. He extended his solicitude to the wounded Russians and to the various establishments in Moscow. Amongst other establishments he protected the Foundling Hospital whither he betook himself, desired to see General Tutolmine, the director of this establishment and asked

him to acquaint him with the situation of his institution. Napoleon also visited the hospitals, which he found wanting in necessaries. He gave orders that all available medical assistance should be brought together, and established a kind of medical agency for diseases of all kinds which he placed under the direction ot the surgeon-in-chief of the army, the respected Doctor Larrey. The Emperor allotted convenient houses for the reception of the sick and wounded and ordered frequent reports on the situation to be laid before him. In one word Napoleon did everything in his power to assist this unhappy city which had been given over to anarchy, and to save for his army the resources which had escaped destruction. The arrival of M. de Lesseps, French consul general to Russia, who had come from St. Petersburg to join the Emperor in Moscow, gave Napoleon the opportunity to organize a municipal organization and local committees composed of natives of the place, at the head of which this agent was placed. Vested with these difficult functions, M. de Lesseps took all the advantage that could be hoped for from intelligent zeal and sustained activity, of these feeble means of keeping order.

When the fire had ceased, provisions of wines, brandies, meal, biscuits, potatoes, salted meats, sugar, coffee, and tea were found in the cellars, to which the flames had not penetrated. These provided ample resources. The houses were provisioned for several months and the inhabitants had left whatever could not be easily carried away. The starving Russian population rushed on all the places where they knew that some prey, easy to be devoured, was to be found and pointed out hiding-places to our soldiers to share

the spoils with them. The Emperor was even forced to place sentries in all the shops and other provision storehouses to preserve them from being pillaged by this mob whose greediness was insatiable.

After having in this way provided for the material wants of the army and of the inhabitants the Emperor devoted his attention to the soldiers' minds. He knew that theatrical performances were an excellent means for diverting the human mind from sorrowful thoughts and for recreating it. A troop of French comedians who had remained in Moscow under the management of Madame Aurore Barsay gave a number of performances which were enthusiastically attended by our soldiers. A clever Italian singer, who had come to Russia to give singing lessons, organized some concerts which were given before Napoleon at the Kremlin. And lastly the famous Moscow decree on the *Comédie-Française* dates from this period.

The director of the Foundling Hospital having asked Napoleon for permission to write to the Dowager Empress, to inform her of the preservation of the establishment confided to his care, this princess being the patroness of the hospital, was asked to add pacific overtures to his letter. Two days later Napoleon wrote to the Emperor Alexander and commissioned the brother of the Russian ambassador to Stuttgart, who was at Moscow at the time, to carry this letter. Almost at the same time the Emperor sent General Lauriston to Kutusoff, the commander-in-chief, under the pretext of proposing an armistice, and carrying a second letter to the Czar. Kutusoff, pretending that he was obliged to ask for instructions, contented himself with sending the document which had been brought by Lauriston,

by Prince Wolkonski, the aide-de-camp, but would not allow the French general to go to St. Petersburg. The commander-in-chief, moreover, an old Scythian, supple and cunning like half-civilized barbarians and like many other Russian generals, professed the friendliest disposition, whilst as a matter of fact the burning of Moscow which was attributed to the French, was already bearing its fruits. The authors of the destruction of the great capital, the sacred city of the Empire, had wished, by exciting the hatred of the nation to the highest degree against the invader, to render all reconciliation between the combatants impossible. And as a matter of fact, all attempts made to snatch Alexander away from British influence remained fruitless and without result.

Napoleon did not yet despair of receiving some answer to his proposals but he spent all his time whilst waiting in Moscow in reorganizing and reinforcing his army, in completing the artillery teams with the horses of the great pontoon-train, which we were forced to leave behind in the Kremlin, and with the horses of persons in the army who had more than was authorized by the regulations. The value of these horses was paid to their owners. By the Emperor's orders the ammunition of our army was increased by means of the stores of powder which had been found in the buildings outside Moscow, which Rostopchin had forgotten to destroy, and by cannon-balls picked up on the field of battle. In one word nothing that might be of service to the French troops amongst the things found in this city after the conflagration was discarded. Whilst organizing assistance for our numerous sick and wounded Napoleon did not lose sight of the necessity

of providing sufficient means of transport to remove them to Smolensk. He gave orders at the same time for the formation of stores of provisions, equipments and ammunition on our rear, and for the concentration at Smolensk of the artillery caissons and carriages which had been abandoned on the road over which the army had marched. Napoleon wished to make a great depot of this city, a centre and point of support for his present and future operations of war. He also had given orders and detailed instructions for the marches and destination of the 2nd and 9th corps commanded by Marshals Dukes de Bellune and de Reggio, who had been summoned to Lithuania to support and reinforce the army.

The disasters which fell upon the French army have prompted many well-thinking men to blame Napoleon for having stayed a month in Moscow. This halt, however, far from being a waste of time, was on the contrary barely long enough to enable the Emperor to put his army in a position to commence the retreat. The complete burning of the ancient capital of Russia was an occurrence which could not in the least be foreseen and which by disconcerting all Napoleon's plans was the chief reason of all the cruel misfortunes from which our brave army suffered afterwards. Did Count Rostopchin foresee this when he gave orders that Moscow was to be burned? One may be allowed to doubt it. This individual's palace was one of the few houses which were spared by the flames. A memorandum was found there which he had laid before the Emperor Paul when he was at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In this memorandum he submitted to the prince the line of policy which he advised in the relations of Russia with France. This memorandum had been

drawn up after a conversation with the Czar at the time when the latter reconciled himself with the First Consul, in 1801, after the seven thousand Russian soldiers who were prisoners in France, had been sent back to St. Petersburg. The policy developed in this memorandum consisted in leaguing Russia with the head of the French Government, whilst secretly fomenting all causes of misunderstanding between England and France, exciting the spirit of natural rivalry which existed between these two countries, so as finally to drive them to war, and so to succeed, by means of their common enfeeblement, in raising Russian influence on the ruins of their preponderance.

The news which we received from St. Petersburg apprised us that this city was greatly disturbed by the fear of seeing the French come there, after the taking of Moscow. As by an audacious manœuvre on Napoleon's part, this new capital of the Empire might fall into his power, the archives and precious objects had already been removed, and the Court as well as the leading families were already preparing to depart. The burning of Moscow seemed to show that Russia was decided to resist our armies to the death. In spite of this, so great was Napoleon's partiality for Alexander. that the Emperor still flattered himself with the hope of removing the Czar out of the reach of the importunities and threats of the enemies of France, by enlightening him on his real interests. Alexander would soon recognize, he thought, the selfishness of the warlike counsels of Great Britain, in whose interests the coalition had each time stupidly gone to war. This hope was again deceived. Nearly a month had passed and no answer had come from St. Petersburg.

The hopes which had been conceived and awakened both by the King of Naples and General Lauriston, were in no wise realized. Napoleon was forced to admit how completely he had deceived himself in hoping that Alexander would approach him with the purpose of peace.

In the meanwhile Kutusoff was preparing an attack on the vanguard commanded by the King of Naples —by favour of a verbal promise which he had given to Murat that both armies should remain in their respective positions until the return of Prince Wolkonski, who had gone to St. Petersburg to deliver Napoleon's letter. A sudden attack of nearly the whole Russian army on our outposts decided the Emperor to begin his movement of evacuation and to approach himself to his reinforcements and store-houses. He had done all that duty and conscience prescribed to obtain peace. This object of the campaign and of so many efforts not having been obtained, Napoleon's plan was to retreat to Smolensk, to take up his winter quarters in Lithuania, and to prepare himself to commence the war again in the spring. The terrible severity of this exceptional and premature winter, which disorganized our fine army and caused it such cruel sufferings, opposed an unsurmountable obstacle to the realization of these plans. The terrible cold which assailed our unhappy soldiers during the retreat, and killed them by thousands, was the cause of the disastrous issue of this memorable expedition.

Already on October 6th, the Emperor had ordered arrangements to be made for the evacuation of such of the wounded as could be removed. A convoy, in which was General Nansouty, who was wounded himself,

left some days later under command of General Claparède. Trophies which consisted of the valuable historical relics taken from the Kremlin were sent off from Moscow at the same time.

Napoleon left the Russian capital on October 19th, a very fine day. He only left seven or eight thousand men behind him who were to follow him under Marshal Mortier after they had blown up the fortifications of the Kremlin. In the rear of the army, marched in numerous lines of extraordinary length a huge number of carriages filled with sick and wounded; chariots, *berlines*, open carriages, waggons laden with provisions, clothes and booty of every description.

The army took the road to Mojaïsk by which it had come, but in order to hide his march from General Kutusoff, the Emperor feigned a march on Kaluga. Napoleon was two leagues beyond Borowsk and twenty leagues from Moscow when he heard that Prince Eugene's corps had been attacked at Malojaroslavetz by superior forces. He marched there forthwith and was able to reach it with sufficient speed to give his orders in good time. In this bloody encounter sixteen thousand French and Italian soldiers triumphed over sixty thousand Russians. This victory, dearly paid for, was marked by the death of the intrepid General Delzons and of his young brother who, covering the general with his body, as a rampart against the enemy, fell struck by a ball near his brother's corpse, the victim of his touching devotion. This attack by the Russians at Malojaroslavetz had generally given rise to the idea that they were anxious to engage a decisive action, and this decided Napoleon to halt in a little village called Gorodnia, in the

vicinity. But having scoured the plain, it appeared to him that the enemy was preparing to retreat. Napoleon in consequence returned to the place from which he had come, strengthened in his resolution to follow the direction which he had ordered for the retreat.

On his return at night-fall to the poor weaver's cottage which he occupied at the Gorodnia bivouac, the Emperor narrowly escaped being carried off in a sudden dash made by some Cossacks. He was escorted only by three platoons of chasseurs and Polish lancers belonging to his guard, besides whom were the aides-de-camp and orderly officers who accompanied him. One of these officers, named Lecoulteux, was struck, in the course of the medley, by a chasseur of the Emperor's escort who ran him through the body. This chasseur had mistaken the officer for a Cossack, because he wore a green coat over his uniform and was holding a lance which he had wrested from a Cossack in his hand. By an extraordinary piece of good fortune, this terrible wound did not kill M. Lecoulteux, who only died in 1845.

The army saw the field of battle of La Moskova again, with emotion. The great abbey of Kolotskoi which had been used as a hospital, was still occupied by Russian and French wounded soldiers whose lives had been preserved by the devotion of some of our surgeons. Napoleon ordered all the sick and wounded French soldiers who could be moved to be placed on the carriages which followed the army.

We passed through Gjatz and Viazma, once so prosperous, but where now, since the passage of the Russian troops who had set fire to them and driven

the wretched inhabitants out before them, solitude and death reigned. At Viazma the enemy tried to bar our way, but was dispersed by the corps under the command of Prince Eugene and Marshal Davout.

Till then the weather had been fairly mild with a bright sun, but on November 6th, when the army was about two days' march from Smolensk, the first snow fell. In one night the thermometer went down to twelve degrees below zero and two days later to eighteen degrees. From that time forward the cold grew worse and worse. We hoped to find provisions, clothes, and fodder at Smolensk, for Napoleon had frequently repeated his orders that stores of all kinds were to be collected in abundant quantities in this town. But this expectation was doomed to disappointment owing to an incomplete execution of his orders and the perfidy of various agents in the supply department, and the army was forced to continue its march in the same state of destitution. Before arriving at Smolensk the Emperor had heard of the Mallet conspiracy of which I shall speak later.

An act of neglect on the part of General Barague-d'Hilliers who was in command at Smolensk and the capture of one of his brigades who capitulated and laid down arms, greatly angered the Emperor against this general, whom he deprived of his command and sent off to Berlin. It was a complication of misfortunes.

Napoleon remained several days in Smolensk to rally the laggards and to give some rest to the remnants of his army which was literally melting away under the influence of the cold and the privations. It became, however, necessary to leave the town. From that time forward the most hideous calamities never ceased to

assail the French army. Each night at the bivouacs we lost thousands of horses whose flesh served to stay the hunger of the soldiers. Our cavalry found itself on foot, our artillery was without teams. Napoleon's great fame however influenced the enemy, and no serious action was attempted. At Krasnoi, wishing to instil prudence into the enemy, and to prove that our disasters had not abashed the courage of our army, the Emperor ordered General Roguet who was commanding a division of the young guard, to make a night attack on a Russian corps which was stationed near this town and which threatened the left of our road. This brave attack was fully successful although the hands of our soldiers were so numbed by the excessive cold that they could hardly hold their rifles.

A young auditor to the Council of State perished in this encounter, victim to his devotion. M. de Villeblanche had been sent to head-quarters with the portfolio containing the work of the ministers. The Empress Josephine had charged me in a pressing letter to recommend him in her name to the Emperor as the son of one of her best friends. This interesting young man had been left at Smolensk in the capacity of intendant. He would certainly have experienced the effects of Napoleon's good-will later on, had he not been reserved for a tragic end. As the army was leaving Smolensk, the auditor followed it on its retreat. Falling in during an encounter with one of the viceroy's officers, who was wounded and could hardly drag himself along, he ran up to him and supported him in his arms to help him along, when a cannon-ball came and finished off the wounded man, at the same time killing his generous supporter.

On leaving Smolensk the Emperor had ordered Marshal Ney to act as his rear-guard and not to leave the town until he had destroyed its fortifications. Ney, who was to be supported by Marshal Davout, set out on November 17th. But in the night of the same day, the enemy manœuvred so as to separate Marshal Ney's corps from Davout's corps. The latter was one march ahead of Ney. The Emperor on hearing at Krasnoi of the movement which had been effected by the Russian troops, thought only of the best means of freeing the corps of his two marshals, whom he considered in common danger, by drawing the enemy upon himself. Free to continue his retreat or forced to fight so as not to abandon these two corps, Napoleon's choice was never doubtful. He returned in consequence to attack the enemy on the morrow. Having left Krasnoi at daybreak with a handful of men he attacks the Russian army, protected by powerful artillery, marches upon the enemy at the head of his guards, disconcerts it by this audacious aggression, forces it to leave its position on the road and give free passage to Marshal Davout's corps. In the meanwhile however Marshal Ney's corps does not appear. Indeed no news can be heard of it, and the rear-guard left by the Emperor at Krasnoi is on the point of being carried, and the army's retreat is in danger of being cut off by Orcha. Napoleon makes up his mind to return to Krasnoi, grievously anxious in his mind by the uncertainty which overhangs Marshal Ney's fate, and to continue his retreat. The Emperor considers Marshal Ney lost.

Napoleon's generous resolution in this circumstance, where he exposed himself to being surrounded by the

Russians in order to rescue his two marshals did him great honour even in the eyes of the enemy. It also shows the vigour of mind which he knew how to preserve in the midst of the greatest disasters.

The episode of Marshal Ney's separation from the army after his departure from Smolensk, has excited so much interest that I cannot resist the temptation to relate the principal phases of this adventure, although the story has already been told.

The corps of Marshals Ney and Davout, had been left at Smolensk, as I have already related, to protect the retreat and to blow up the fortifications of this town before abandoning it. Marshal Davout left Smolensk on November 16th to reach Krasnoi. Marshal Ney's corps which was under orders to form the extreme rear-guard, only left it on the morrow to follow the same direction. It consisted of about six thousand soldiers with twelve cannon. It was followed by a large quantity of baggage which had remained behind and by a multitude of laggards from the other corps whom the fear alone of the Russian cannon determined to place themselves under the Marshal's protection. But during the night and before it was dislodged, as has been seen, by Napoleon, the enemy had occupied a strong position on the road from Smolensk to Krasnoi, and Ney—in spite of unheard-of but fruitless efforts to force his way through—remains with his single corps, separated from the whole of the French army. In this critical situation, reduced to his own scanty forces, surrounded by enemies ten times superior in numbers, in an icy and unknown land, the Marshal never wavers and buoys up his comrades in misfortune. He marches on with his troops in good

order harassed by the Russian army, forced to restrain an undisciplined gang which at each cannon-shot rushes into the ranks of his soldiers. Marshal Kutusoff sends him a summons by an officer to surrender, pointing out to him that no chance of escape remains to the little French troop. Ney replies to this summons, which it may be added was accompanied with the flattering expressions and courtesies which were thought the due of so great a warrior, by detaining the officer who brought it as prisoner of war. Eighty thousand Russians, occupying the heights, batter down his feeble troops. Instead of weakening, the Marshal's courage rises to the pitch of heroism. He reassures his soldiers and fills them with his intrepid valour. They follow their chief blindly in a furious attack against these masses and break down their first line. This courage of despair impresses the enemy, which contents itself with following them, without essaying to attack them. Ney's soldiers close round their Marshal in whom alone they personify safety, drawing indomitable resolution from his eyes. In searching a village they find a peasant who conducts them to the banks of the Dnieper. This great river has to be crossed, but they have no pontoon-train and the ice is floating down the river, except at one point where owing to some obstacles the ice-floes have stuck fast. The Marshal might have taken advantage of the rest of the day to try and cross, but half his men are still in the rear. He will halt to rally them, and whilst awaiting their arrival, this valiant man of war, who carried in a robust body a soul which was inaccessible to fear, wraps himself up in his cloak and goes to sleep on the snow. His troops having come up, they begin to cross the river at midnight. The

first battalions succeed in reaching the other side. Those who come last and the artillery break in through the ice-floes. The Marshal strains every muscle, present everywhere, he stretches out his hand to the one, encourages the other. This difficult crossing takes place in spite of a thousand dangers, but a part of the small army, which there is no means of getting across, remains on the left bank with the laggards, the baggage and the artillery train.

In the meanwhile the Marshal and his decimated troop set out on the march again and arrive at a big village where each and all hope to get some rest after so many terrible fatigues, but thousands of Cossacks, commanded by Hetman Platow, pour down upon our soldiers on every side. Ney's heroic attitude, however, restrains these savages. The Marshal wishes to take advantage of the night to decamp without noise, but scarcely has he taken his first steps than he is received with a rolling fire of artillery. He marches thus, during three days, followed by six thousand Cossacks, before whom he retires slowly, with no cannon, no cavalry, even as a lion pressed by the hunters, advancing from wood to wood, taking advantage of all the cover afforded by the ground, keeping the enemy at a respectful distance, turning upon them when this enemy pressed him too close and putting them to flight with a handful of men, weak or wounded, all exhausted with cold, fatigue, and hunger. Each step taken by this valorous cohort is marked by a fierce encounter. At last after so much misery and so many cruel adventures, in which it is seen what the energy of a single man can accomplish for the safety of all, Ney and his soldiers arrive in sight of Orcha, with the fear

lest this town be in the hands of the enemy. The Marshal detaches some Poles to reconnoitre. On seeing them Prince Eugene assembles some thousand men and at once marches to Ney's rescue, falling into his arms when he meets him, with tears of joy and emotion. No words could describe the astonishment, the emotion, the curiosity with which the two corps received each other, mingled and embraced, so greatly do men's minds unite and exalt them in the presence of a common adversity. The Emperor who had been filled with grief and anxiety by Ney's disappearance, hears of this veritable resurrection from his orderly officer, Gourgaud. He doubted the truth of the news of this unhoped-for return, then transported with joy, he cried out: "I would have given the treasure in my vaults in the Tuileries palace rather than have lost so brave a man."* Marshal Ney fully justified that idea expressed by Napoleon in the hyperbolical language which he was accustomed to use: "Better an army of deer commanded by a lion, than an army of lions commanded by a deer."

I saw that the Emperor was troubled with grievous anxiety during all the time that he was without news of Marshal Ney. Napoleon could have found some comfort for the death of this illustrious warrior on some glorious battle-field, but he would have suffered bitter regret at the obscure immolation of a whole army corps and its valorous chief.

Napoleon's remark about Ney, in which he alludes to his treasure, gives me the opportunity of remarking

* Was this exclamation, appraising Marshal Ney, quite in good taste on Napoleon's part? To me it smacks of the *parvenu*, unaccustomed to millions.—R. H. S.

that it was not three hundred nor two hundred millions which the Emperor had in his vaults in the Tuileries. This treasure, which was the result of savings during ten years out of the civil list—and only a part of which was in specie—never exceeded one hundred and forty millions. Almost this entire sum was used in days of adversity, in reorganizing the army, or in providing for the needs of the different public services during a time of crisis. The rest, about twelve millions, was confiscated in 1814, by the provisional government, under a notoriously lying pretext.

Such of the wounded as could be moved had been placed in all the carriages without exception, in the Emperor's carriages as well as in the carriages of the army. Napoleon's own horses had been used for this purpose. His solicitude for the honourable victims of this war and his indefatigable activity displayed themselves on this occasion as they had done during all his campaigns in Italy, Egypt, Germany and Spain. The following letter addressed to Marshal Mortier who remained the last in Moscow, is a proof which may be quoted amongst others. The Emperor writes:

"I cannot too strongly commend all the wounded that are left to you. Place them on the carriages of the young guard, on those of the cavalry on foot, in short on every carriage that you can find.—The Romans used to give crowns to those who saved the lives of citizens, how many crowns will you not deserve in my eyes for all those whom you shall save? Put them on our own horses, on everybody's horses; it is what I did at Acre. Begin with the officers, take the under-officers next, and give the preference to the French. Assemble the generals and the officers who are under your command and impress upon them what humanity expects of them under these circumstances."

The two sons of Prince Mark of Beauvau, who had made a very brilliant commencement in this campaign, were now following the retreat. The elder, a lieutenant of carbineers, was seriously wounded, having had his thigh broken with a lance-wound in the affair at Winkowo. He owed his life to the Emperor, for Napoleon had him placed in one of his carriages, recommending him specially to the Grand Equerry, and frequently asked with interest for news of him during the retreat. The Emperor held the parents of the young Beauvaus in high esteem and these on their side never forgot the kindnesses which they had received from him. Prince de Beauvau was one of the chamberlains who had been most in attendance. On Napoleon's return from the island of Elba, M. de Beauvau resumed the functions of his post and sat in the imperial chamber of peers.* Princess de Beauvau was a lady-in-waiting in the Empress's palace. The Emperor had a particular regard for this lady and had thought to give her a striking proof of this regard—as I mentioned in its place—at the time of the formation of the Empress Marie Louise's household.

*Marc Étienne Gabriel de Beauvau (1773—1849) was created a peer in 1831.—R. H. S.

CHAPTER II.

Doubrowna Alert—Napoleon Provides Himself with a Dose of Poison—He Orders His Baggage and Private Papers to be Destroyed—The Cursed Battalion—The Crossing of the Bérésina—Devotion of the Pontoniers—Horrible Confusion Caused by the Breaking of the Bridges—The Emperor's Presence of Mind and Superhuman Activity—Despatches Retained at Molodetschno to Learn the Circumstances of the Mallet Conspiracy—This Person's Monomania for Conspiracy—The Emperor Leaves Smorgoni for France Preceded by the 29th Bulletin—His Visit to Warsaw and Dresden—His Arrival in Paris—Reflections—Effect Produced by the 29th Bulletin—The Emperor's Opinion on the Russian Campaign—"The Bow is Overstrained"—Audiences Given to the Principal Corporations of the State—Napoleon Orders a Report on the Mallet Affair to be Laid Before Him—King Louis Asks to be Allowed to Return to Holland—Our Losses Repaired with Extraordinary Diligence—Reorganization of the Army—Public Sympathy—Creation of Regiments of Guards of Honour—M. des Nétumières—Alarming News Received from the Army—Desertion of the Prussian Corps—The Austrian Corps Enters Galicia Once More—The King of Naples Leaves Posen for His States—He is Replaced by Prince Eugene—News from Spain—Definite Evacuation of Madrid—Concordat of Fontainebleau—The Pope Regrets Having Signed It—Affairs in Germany—M. de Narbonne takes M. Otto's Place in Vienna—Inspection of Public Establishments in Paris—Municipal Works—Visit Paid by the Emperor and the Empress to the Invalides—Opening of the Legislative Session—Plan for the Empress's Household—Napoleon's Liking for M. de Narbonne—The Emperor's System of Fusion—I am Appointed Secretary of Commands to the Empress—Regency—Regulation of the Order of Service—Settlement of the Empress's Jointure—The Emperor and Empress's Kindness Towards Me—Arrival of Prince Schwarzenberg in Paris—The Emperor's Departure for the Army—First Essay in the Exercise of the Regency—The Victory of Lutzen—Conference Between Prince Schwarzenberg and Duc de Bassano—Mistrust of Austria—The Duc de Vicence is Sent to the Emperor Alexander—He is Not Received—Victories of Bantzen and Wurtschen—Truce—Correspondence Between the Emperor and the Empress-Regent—The Duke of Otranto and the Duke of Bassano are Summoned to Dresden—Losses to the Emperor by the Deaths of de Bessières and Duroc—His Grief—The Emperor's Scruples—A Court Intrigue—The Empress's Journey to Mortfontaine—Interview of M. de Metternich with the Emperor in Dresden—Austria's Bad Faith—The Emperor Asks the Empress to Meet Him at Mayence—Orders Given on this Head—Stay at Mayence—The Emperor Returns to the Army—His Re-entry of Dresden—The Affair of the Antwerp Customs—The Empress Returns to Paris, Descending the Rhine—The King of Rome Grows in Strength and Intelligence—Journey to Cherbourg—The Sea Let Into the Harbour Basin—The Congress of Prague—Austria Acts as Mediator—Reason of the Late Arrival of the Plenipotentiaries at the Congress—Just Circumspection of the Emperor—Austria's Partiality—Deception—All Proposals Rejected—Ultimatum of the Allies—Rupture of the Congress—Austria Throws off the Mask—Napoleon's Answer is Considered Too Late—Fragility of Political Marriages—Fouché's Insinuation on de Metternich's Venality—Council Held at Vienna—Injustice of the Reproach Addressed to

the Duc de Bassano—Austria's Desertion Grieves the Empress—She Writes to Her Father—The Emperor's Departure from Dresden for Silesia—Hurried Return to Dresden—Battle of Dresden—Moreau Struck by a French Cannon Ball—Honours Paid by Alexander to His Memory—Pension Allotted by Him to His Widow—The Bâton of Marshal of France Handed Later on to Madame Moreau by Louis XVIII.—Honours Paid to the Memories of Pichegru, Georges, and Others—Disasters at Culm—Unfortunate Illness of the Emperor—A Series of Desertions—The Opposition of Certain French Generals—The Emperor's Hardy Plan—Levy of Anticipated Conscriptions—The Empress-Regent at the Senate—The Emperor Leaves Dresden, Leaving the Corps of Marshal St. Cyr Behind Him—Battle of Vachau—Disastrous Day of Leipzig—The Treachery of the Saxons—Farewell Between the Emperor and the Saxon Royal Family—Farewell of the Emperor and the King of Naples—Victory at Hanau—Flags Sent to the Empress—The Emperor at St. Cloud.

THE Emperor's firmness and resolution grew in proportion with the dangers of the critical position in which he found himself placed. At Doubrowna a singular alarm spread round the bivouac. Dawn was beginning to break, when the camp was thrown into a state of tumult. At the first sounds thereof I made haste to dress and hurried to the house where the Emperor had passed the night, near which I was lodged. I met Count Daru under way, also going there and fully as anxious as I was. We found Napoleon, half-dressed, on the threshold, giving orders that the Cossacks who no doubt had caused this scrimmage should be driven off. But it was not an attack by the enemy which had caused all this confusion. It was the loud cries of calling somebody whose name was Ozanne. This name, repeated from bivouac to bivouac, had given rise to the belief that a call "*aux armes*" was being made. Such an alarm might any day entail serious dangers in the state of disorder inseparable from the disorganization of the army corps and in view of the fact that the camp was very carelessly guarded. Napoleon rode through the camp, ordering the guards and the troops to redouble in

vigilance and to charge themselves with the care of seeing that a supervision and a discipline which had become more than ever necessary were maintained.

This circumstance, the remembrance of the alert at Gorodina and similar dangers to which he saw himself exposed, the anxiety which he felt at the time as to what had become of Marshal Ney, of whom we had no news, filled the Emperor with grave and sad reflections. In 1805, after Austerlitz, the respect of a Marshal of France for a king's word of honour, given with but little scruple, had preserved Alexander from the misfortune of falling into the hands of a detachment of French troops—but Napoleon had seen that this prince had retained no friendly recollection of the tacit approval which he had given to Marshal Davout's conduct on this occasion. The Emperor knew that the Czar was to-day dominated by the more than hostile influence of his enemies, from whose fury he might expect anything. Napoleon could not bear the idea of having to serve, in case of misfortune, to adorn the triumph of these implacable adversaries. He asked his ordinary medical adviser, Doctor Yvan, in consequence, to give him a dose of poison, which was contained in a sachet which he could carry round his neck, and which was to spare him the humiliation of falling alive into the hands of the Cossacks and of being exposed to the insults of these savages.

The army found some stores, forty cannon, and two pontoon trains at Orcha. The two heavy pontoon trains were sacrificed (a sacrifice which later on was to be very fatal to the issue of our retreat) because they would have stuck in the broken-down roads, and in order to employ the few horses that

remained for the artillery trains. To leave as little as possible to serve as trophies to the enemy, Napoleon ordered almost all his carriages, his luggage, and the secret papers contained in the portfolio which was in my hands to be burned. It was from this portfolio that I derived the title of "Secretary to the Portfolio" with which the Emperor had invested me.

The cavalry being entirely on foot, there was spontaneously formed a squadron of from five to six hundred men, composed of officers who still had a horse each, to watch over Napoleon's person. The officers formed the privates of this squadron, the non-commissioned officers were colonels and the officers, generals. This squadron later on took the name of "the cursed battalion" because those who composed it lost their horses one after the other. It was commanded by General Grouchy under the orders of the King of Naples.

The Emperor having fully informed himself which was the best road to take, decided to march rapidly from Orcha to Borisow hoping to reach the Bérésina before the enemy who were manœuvring to close the road of Vilna against us. Admiral Tchitchakow, commanding the army of Moldavia, who by a treaty of neutrality concluded with the Russians by the Austrian general, Prince Schwarzenberg, enjoyed full liberty of action, had marched to this river. He had crossed it at first, but having been driven back by Marshal Oudinot, had recrossed it and had destroyed the bridge. Napoleon and the French troops then found themselves in a most dangerous position. The Emperor had with him less than forty thousand men, including the corps of Bellune and Reggio, surrounded by more than one

hundred thousand Russians supplied with everything, fighting on their own native ground, whilst half our soldiers were exhausted by the cold and by horrible fatigues, being moreover mentally depressed by so many reverses and the great distance which separated them from their fatherland. The imminence of the danger, far from weakening Napoleon's energy, tempered all the valour of his vigorous mind and indefatigable genius. Having succeeded in duping the enemy by feigned manœuvres, he succeeded in crossing the Bérésina beyond Borisow. The change to mild weather which, under all other circumstances would have been a blessing to our soldiers, brought on the contrary fresh misfortunes upon us; for the solid ice would have served us as a bridge, whereas the thaw having broken up the ice, the Bérésina drifted innumerable ice-floes. In order to construct trestle-bridges, our brave sappers and pontoniers, under command of General Eblé, were frequently forced to plunge into the icy water up to their shoulders, hampered in their movements and often wounded by the ice-floes which were dragged along by the current. In spite of so much suffering and so many obstacles, these brave fellows constructed several bridges, rapidly and with admirable devotion, over which the remnants of our unhappy army crossed the river in turn in an order which had been commanded by the Emperor who superintended the operation in person. The bridges broke down several times, a circumstance which aggravated the fatigues of our brave pontoniers, who were forced to repair the damage and begin their work over again. In spite of Napoleon's exhortations and repeated commands sent

over the water that the opposite bank should be evacuated, there remained behind some thousands of laggards and non-combatants who could not make up their minds to abandon their innumerable carriages of every kind and their baggage. They only could make up their minds to do so when the enemy's cannon began to scatter dismay and death in the midst of this frantic mob. The confusion then became inexpressibly horrible, and the breaking-down of the bridges which gave way beneath the weight of these unhappy men, left all those who had not been able to cross the river in the power of the Russians. It would be a task beyond my power to describe the misfortunes of this day so deplorable under one aspect and yet at the same time so full of glory for the bravery of our army. It is in the midst of great dangers that the character of the French soldier reveals itself. Never did he show himself so great as in this catastrophe, emulating his chiefs in heroism. Napoleon's presence of mind and indefatigable activity, as he multiplied himself, taking every measure, keeping his eye on everything, is the best answer that can be made to those who have insinuated that on this memorable occasion he was afflicted with absolute mental and physical prostration. * Never on the contrary did he display greater strength of mind nor exercise more genius than in these terrible moments. So also will he be found in the midst of the grave events of the campaigns of Saxony and of France.

All justice must also be rendered to Marshal Ney

* In the first of a series of magazine articles on the "Decline and Fall of Napoleon" General Lord Wolseley definitely makes this charge against Napoleon.—R. H. S.

for his bravery and admirable firmness. This Marshal was the hero of the retreat. What devotion and presence of mind in the midst of danger, what familiarity with war and courage can produce of miracles, was realized by this intrepid warrior, who turn by turn was general and common soldier. How was it that the remembrance of his heroic conduct, of the thousand civic crowns and laurel-wreaths which adorned his brows, did not preserve him from the thunderbolt that struck him down?

It was no longer possible to preserve even the shadow of discipline, and each man left to himself tried to reach Vilna as best he could. At last, having reached Molodetchno, the Emperor found there a great quantity of despatches which had been brought by estafettes who had not been able to reach him till then. These letters contained particulars of the Mallet attempt, the news of which he had first heard of on the evening before his arrival at Smolensk. Public security had not till then been troubled in Paris by the announcement of any disaster, but the distance by which the chief and the army were remote, the savagery of the Russians' means of defence and the burning of Moscow created a vague feeling of anxiety in France. Suddenly the foolhardy enterprise of Mallet broke out, the audacity of which stupefied Paris and the authorities. The desultory nature of the measures which were taken to oppose it show a state of uncertainty which might have proved fatal if the agents of the conspiracy had been on a better understanding. The Empress was living very quietly with her son at St. Cloud, when she was suddenly alarmed

as to her son's safety and her own by the appearance of a detachment of guards sent on by the Minister of War, which galloped into the palace courtyard in great precipitation. She at once ran out in a dressing-gown, with her hair flying out behind, on to a balcony which overlooked the courtyard and it was there she received the first news of an attempt which she had little expected. Her consternation did not, however, last a long time. But what produced a profound impression in France and in Europe, was the audacity with which an obscure man, without money or credit, alone and without accomplices had escaped from prison to try a *coup de main* which had very nearly succeeded. Other reasons for amazement were the facility with which he had succeeded in persuading the troops that the Emperor was dead and that consequently the Empire was at an end, the passive submission of the municipal authorities to his behests, and finally the way in which the King of Rome and his mother had been forgotten.

The project of profiting by Napoleon's absence, when engaged in some distant expedition, with a view of overthrowing the Empire, was a fixed idea which had long been growing in the head of Mallet, that monomaniac of conspiracy. In 1806, after the battle of Eylau, and in 1809, after the battle of Essling, Mallet counting on the serious embarrassments which would keep Napoleon away from France, had tried to make use of the same means for provoking an upheaval. The first indications accused him of participation in these revolutionary intrigues, but convicting documents being wanting for the definite establishment of his complicity, Mallet was not sent

for trial; a decree ordered his detention only in one of the State prisons. In 1809 the police were informed that Mallet had organized a plan of insurrection in the Force prison, which was to break out on a Sunday, on the day fixed for the chanting of a *Te Deum* at Notre Dame in honour of the entry of the French troops into Vienna. The indulgence with which he was treated having encouraged him, Mallet thought that the misfortunes of the retreat from Moscow at last offered him an opportunity of realizing the design, the execution of which he was pursuing with such constant obstinacy.

Seeing the necessity of his presence in Paris, the Emperor who had not wished to separate himself from the army as long as it was being menaced by imminent dangers, at last made up his mind to start for France. Dressed in a fur-lined pelisse, a present from the Emperor Alexander in happier days, and wearing an Astrachan cap on his head, Napoleon during the retreat had most often walked on foot, with a stick in his hand, taking the arm of the King of Naples or of one of his Marshals, in the midst of his troops and escorted by the sacred—or cursed—battalion. He only very rarely got into his carriage or mounted on horseback.

On December 5th, on the day of his arrival at Smorgoni, the Emperor assembled the leaders of his army, and informed them of his departure, provided for all things with detailed instructions and left the supreme command to his brother-in-law Murat with Prince de Neufchâtel as his major-general. On December 2nd he had sent Colonel Anatole de Montesquiou on to Paris charged with the mission of publishing good news all along the way, in towns as well as in

simple villages, so as to reassure Poland, Germany and France, who must have been rendered anxious by the absence of all reports from the army. Napoleon sent the 29th bulletin on ahead of him, and in this bulletin he concealed none of our disasters.* He left on December 5th with the Duc de Vicence in a sledge, with no other escort than his mameluke Roustan and one groom. Count Wonsowich who was seated on the box of the sledge, acted as interpreter. Napoleon made his way to Warsaw where he found fresh reasons for displeasure with Abbé Pradt and thence proceeded to Dresden, where were his ambassador Serra and the King of Saxony. He continued his way by Erfurth and Mayence, halting at Erfurth to send letters to his envoys at the courts of the princes of the Confederation of the Rhine, and orders to the generals in command of our military forces in Germany. He then proceeded from Mayence to Paris without stopping on the way. The Emperor arrived very late in the evening of December 18th at the Tuileries. The Empress who was sad and unwell had just gone to bed, for Napoleon had given her no notice of his approaching arrival. Frightened by the noises which she heard in the drawing-room which opened out of her bedroom, Marie Louise was rising to find out what was going on when she saw the Emperor enter, rush up to her and clasp her in his arms. The noise outside which had rather frightened the Empress was caused by a discussion between two men hooded and wrapped up in fur

* This is incorrect. Compare with Méneval's statement what Thiers writes (Book XXVII. of his "History of the Consulate and the Empire"). "Before leaving he wrote the 29th bulletin, which afterwards became so famous, in which, speaking for the first time of the retreat, he avowed *such part of our disasters as could not absolutely be denied.*" &c., &c.—R. H. S.

cloaks, with the lady-in-waiting who slept in the room adjoining the Empress's bedroom. This lady, as was her bounden duty, was defending the entrance to the bedroom, when one of these men throwing open his mantle disclosed the Emperor to her stupefied gaze.

Napoleon saw the soil of his country again, as great, greater perhaps, than when he had left it. More than once had his audacious and skilful manœuvres, and the ascendancy of his genius saved the remains of the French army from a destruction which appeared inevitable. Adversity had found him strong and even immovable. Adversity had awakened in him that vigour of mind and those qualities which that hard school develops in chosen natures. Fortune, then, in betraying, had not diminished him, but she had weakened his prestige of invincibility. The army had lost none of its glorious reputation. It had displayed in these evil days an intrepidity, a constancy and warlike virtues which have amazed the world. It was only beaten by the elements, and if the bodies of the soldiers succumbed their hearts had never failed. The leaders of this valiant army had shown themselves worthy of it. Attacked by every kind of disaster, reduced to a handful of soldiers with barely enough strength to carry their arms, the army had still imposed respect on the enemy. No doubt that among so many brave soldiers there were numerous exceptions, as must necessarily be the case in any large agglomeration of men exposed to the direst calamities, for all characters are not tempered alike. But why make mention of such exceptions when the bulk showed such endurance

and such courage? Those whose names might be mentioned as having been exceptions to the rule were for the most part men who had no need of the test of adversity to show their imperfections, their weaknesses, or their vices.

The 29th bulletin which had preceded the Emperor to Paris, where it was delivered thirty-six hours before his arrival, had explained the long silence of the Great Army and had thrown a sad light on the disasters of the retreat. The minds of men were struck with these sinister pictures, and comparisons were instituted between the expedition of Cambyses to Egypt and the retreat from Moscow. Some thick-headed people applied to Napoleon a passage, sufficiently striking it is true, out of the "Considerations on the Causes of the Greatness and Decline of the Romans"—chapter XVII—where Montesquieu, after having spoken of the invasion of the barbarians into Europe, emboldened as they were by the enfeeblement of Charlemagne's empire, adds: "If a prince were to create such ravages in Europe to-day, the nations driven back in the North to the limits of the Universe would keep their stand there until the moment when they would inundate Europe for the third time."

Victories dearly purchased and fruitless, unheard-of disasters, the destruction of the finest army which France ever possessed, such were the results of this fatal expedition to Russia. How wide a field was thrown open to accusations, to complaints, and to the expressions of regret of even the best-disposed party in the nation and of our allies the Poles! Many people have been pleased to describe Napoleon's confidences delivered at St. Helena, as ingenious and tempting

fictions, intended to deceive his contemporaries and posterity. May I be allowed to oppose to these severe judgments, the following extract from Napoleon's Memoirs; it is a *résumé* of his plans and of his conduct at this most important epoch in his reign, which, in my opinion, is as sincere as it is free from boasting?

"The history of the Russian campaign will never be well known, because the Russians either do not write or write with no regard for truth, and because the French have been seized with a fine phrenzy for dishonouring and discrediting their own glory.—The war with Russia became the necessary consequence of the continental system on the day on which the Emperor Alexander violated the conventions of Tilsitt and of Erfurth, but a consideration of far greater import influenced Napoleon and decided him. The French Empire, which he had created with so many victories, would inevitably be dismembered at his death, and the sceptre of Europe would pass into the hands of a Czar, did he not throw the Russians back on to the farther side of the Borysthenes, and re-establish the throne of Poland, the Empire's natural barrier. In 1812, Austria, Prussia, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy marched under the eagles of France. Was Napoleon not obliged to think that the moment had come for consolidating the immense edifice which he had erected, but on the summit of which Russia would weigh with all the weight of her power, as long as she was able at pleasure to march her numerous armies to the Oder. Alexander was young and full of strength like his empire; it was to be presumed that he would survive Napoleon. All the secret of the war is there. No personal feeling weighed in the matter as certain writers have alleged. The Russian campaign is the most glorious, the most difficult and the one fullest of honour for the Gauls of which either ancient or modern history makes mention.

"This war should have been one of the most popular of modern times; it was a war of common sense and of true interests; it was a war for the repose and security of all; it was Conservative, European, and Continental. Its success was to consecrate combinations which would have caused the dangers of the times to disappear, yielding a quiet future in their place, and ambition had no place in my views. Could one believe that it was there that I was to fail and to meet with ruin? Never had I acted better, never had I better deserved. But as if opinion also were subject to epidemics, lo! in one moment, there was but one outcry, one feeling against me. I was proclaimed the tyrant of the kings, I, who had given them a fresh lease of life! I was no longer anything more than the destroyer of the rights of the nations, I, who had done all and was about to undertake all for them! And the peoples and the kings, these irreconcilable enemies, allied themselves, concerted in conspiracy against me! No account was taken of all the acts of my life. I knew very well that the opinion of the people would come back to my side with victory, but I failed to secure victory and found myself crushed. Such are men and such is my history. But the peoples and the kings, and perhaps both together, will regret me; and my memory will be sufficiently avenged for the injustice which has been done to my person."

After having described the great advantages of Russia's position with regard to Europe, Napoleon adds:—

"One cannot refrain from shuddering at the thought of such a mass of men, which one can attack neither on the flank nor on the rear, pouring out with impunity upon you, flooding all if it triumph,—or retreating into the midst of its icy regions, into the bosom of devastation and death, which are its reserves, if defeated, ready to reappear again if needs be. Have we not here the hydra's head, the Antæus of the fable,

which cannot be vanquished except by seizing it body to body, and smothering it in one's arms? . . . . . But where to find the Hercules? It appertained to us alone to dare to assume that part . . . .

"Was it, however, the efforts only of the Russians which annihilated me? No, it was a capital burned down in spite of the inhabitants, and by means of foreign intrigues; it was a winter, a frost, whose sudden appearance and excessive rigour were phenomenal; it was the false manœuvres, the countermarches of the Austrian corps, false reports, low intrigues, treachery, stupidity, and many other things, in one word, which will be known one day perhaps and which will be able to extenuate the one clumsy fault in diplomacy and in war which can be justly laid to my charge, namely, having undertaken such an enterprise in leaving on my flanks, which soon became my rear, two Cabinets of which I was not the master, and two allied armies which the slightest reverse would transform into enemies: and in conclusion on this point and indeed to cancel all that I have said by one word, this famous war, this audacious enterprise, were never desired by me; I had no wish to fight. Alexander had no wish to fight either, but once face to face, circumstances drove us one against the other and fatality did the rest."

Napoleon was right in saying that he did not wish to make war on Russia in 1812 and that he did all he could to avoid it; his first need was to finish the war in Spain. The conferences, the explanations which the Emperor had with his ministers and with persons who were best acquainted with the Russian empire are sufficient proofs of his anxiety. When the indispensable necessity of taking steps was made clear to him, when his mind was firmly made up and he had assumed its entire responsibility, he considered it superfluous to enter upon any controversy on this.

point. When on the contrary he had reasons for hesitation, he would sound the opinions of competent persons either directly or indirectly; he would put forward paradoxical proposals in his conversations, and would provoke arguments destined either to enlighten him and confirm him in the resolution which in his eyes seemed the best, or to modify it or even to abandon its execution. He would then weigh the pros and cons in his heart of hearts and never took any serious resolutions without having thought them over for a long time and with the deepest attention.

In the midst of his meditations I often heard Napoleon characterize his position with this expression to which he gave vent in the silence of his cabinet: "The bow is overstretched." Who had created this situation? Did it depend on him alone to slacken this bow? I am aware of all that might be said on this great question; but I cannot discuss it here. It was opined that Napoleon's dictatorship had lasted too long a time.... does not the exclamation which I have referred to above prove that Napoleon, more than anybody else, understood the danger this situation implied?

The situation in which the gravity of circumstances placed France at that time did not diminish the Emperor's courage, but brought out all the vigour of his mind, giving new food to his energetic activity. His first care was to inform himself on what had happened in Paris at the time of Mallet's audacious conspiracy. Napoleon feared the misfortunes of every kind for which his death might give the signal. He blamed the hastiness of the judgment which had been pronounced on the authors of the conspiracy, and

especially on those who had only been implicated in it; but feeling how imperatively necessary it was to recall the civil magistrates to a rigorous observance of their duties Napoleon pronounced, although with regret, the dismissal of the Prefect of the Seine, for yielding with too great ease to Mallet's declarations and injunctions.

The Emperor received the principal corporations of the State in solemn audience. The Senate, encouraged in the expression of a wish to which Napoleon had not answered in an explicit manner, spoke of the advisability of proceeding to the coronation of the King of Rome. Arrangements were even projected for the eventuality of a coronation of the Empress and of her son; but there were things of greater urgency to be performed, and for the time being the project in question was not carried into effect.

The former King Louis of Holland, who was living in absolute retirement in Gratz, on hearing the news of the disasters which had befallen the French army in the Russian campaign, and the return of the Emperor to France, wrote to him to ask to be allowed to return to Holland. King Louis thought the moment a favourable one for re-establishing the French dynasty in the Low Country, and considered that Napoleon ought not to hesitate to replace him on the throne which was about to become a prey to the allied forces. Napoleon answered his brother's letter by asking him to come to Paris, where he said he would find, not an offended brother, but a father who had brought him up. He further declared to him that Holland had become French, and that Louis, having of his free will abdicated his crown could not think of taking it

back again. The Ex-King of Holland made another fruitless application with the same object in view to the Congress at Prague, at a later period. He left the Austrian states at that time, and withdrew to Switzerland so as to be in a more favourable position for following the course of events.

The Emperor's first care was the re-organization of the army, and he worked without respite to repair its losses. He met with a good-will and an ardour in the country which powerfully seconded his efforts in the accomplishment of this great task. Old and new France and Italy seemed to have renewed their strength in the terrible days of the calamities of the last campaign, just as after the battle of Cannæ, the Roman senate went to meet Varro to thank him for not having despaired of the safety of the republic. The city of Paris, all the provinces of the Empire made haste to sacrifices of all kinds, convinced as they were that Napoleon was more than ever necessary to France and that they had lost nothing since he remained to them, armed with all his energy. The speeches which were addressed to him, the letters which were written to him, the addresses which were presented to him were proofs of the sincere and spontaneous expression of the feelings of the country. The artillery, both in men and material, as well as all other military branches were re-organized and completed, and very soon, in one word, the French army was once more in a position to present itself afresh on the field of battle, as numerous as it was before its disaster. Three months had sufficed to obtain these prodigious results. The young soldiers who for the most part had been employed to reinforce the army, were as brave and as

formidable in the face of the enemy as our veterans, after a day's fighting. Unfortunately they were not inured to fatigue like the latter, nor as accustomed to forced marches as were their seniors: it will be remembered that Napoleon used to say that it was chiefly with his soldiers' legs that he waged war.

Wishing to attach to the fate of the Empire the young gentlemen belonging to old families, whom laziness and discontent had cast into the ranks of the adversaries of the Imperial regime, Napoleon created regiments of guards of honour in which the privates had the prospect of becoming officers with one year's service. His object was to avoid leaving behind him any elements of disturbance, and at the same time to increase his cavalry. The creation of the regiments of the guards of honour was as successful as had been desired by the Emperor, and this new corps supplied the army with 10,000 excellent horsemen whose education was either complete, or easily to be completed. The *esprit de corps* and the natural taste of the French for the profession of arms very soon aroused in these young gentlemen the love of the Fatherland and of the flag. At the beginning, however, a spirit of resistance and insubordination natural enough manifested itself amongst these forced recruits, especially in the first regiment, which was assembled at Tours, under the command of General Philip de Ségur. There had been formed in this regiment, which was made up of young gentlemen from Brittany and Vendée, a kind of association, the object of which was to kidnap the Emperor. To obtain this result the association counted on the hazards which might arise to approach the regiment to the sovereign's person. Louis de la Rochejaquelein,

with this purpose in view, had placed himself in communication with the principal members of the association, notably with a certain Charette, who was a relation of the Vendéen general of that name. The police, informed of this intrigue, arrested and transported to Paris some of the ringleaders. The regiment was excited by their long absence, and a deputation came to ask the Colonel what had been done with their comrades, and imperiously demanded that they should be set free. On the firm refusal of the Colonel one of the guards of honour, whose name was Des Nétumières, shot at him point-blank with a pistol, which merely grazed his face, the bullet entering the collar of his coat without wounding him. This outbreak had no other consequences. The authorities satisfied themselves with the arrest of Nétumières and some other young fellows who were implicated in the matter, and imprisoned them at Sainte Pélagie. They were treated with indulgence, the Restoration found them in prison in 1814, and set them at liberty.

The Emperor had received the most disastrous news from the army in Russia. After his departure from Smorgoni the army had continued its march to Vilna under the command of the King of Naples. The absence of Napoleon, whose presence inspired all with courage, left it exposed to new disasters. The intensity of the cold, which increased to thirty degrees below zero, completed their disorganization and the road from Smorgoni to Vilna was strewn with corpses. With Napoleon's forethought they collected at Vilna immense stores of every kind, besides provisions which had been brought from Koenigsberg, and towns in Lithuania; but it was impossible to distribute these

provisions with any order. Famished gangs of men rushed on the store-houses and pillaged them, so that all these immense resources, which would have revictualled and provisioned an army of 300,000 men, were wasted and lost. Vilna was in the midst of horrible confusion. At a league from this city a hill which was one mere ice-block opposed an insurmountable obstacle to the horses and carriages, and these had to be abandoned at the foot of the hill. The army treasure was distributed amongst the soldiers, who faithfully brought back the sums which had been entrusted to them. At last the remnants of this noble and heroic army arrived at Kowno, after six weeks of disasters and misfortunes without a parallel. They recrossed the Niemen which six months earlier a splendid, large, and brilliant army had crossed. Reduced to one quarter of its numbers, this army retreated, after having suffered all kinds of misfortunes; but although vanquished by the atrocious severity of the elements, the sentiments of honour and of loyalty had remained unshaken. Marshal Ney, the hero of this retreat, at the head of a handful of men of the rearguard, carrying a rifle like a private* forced himself over the bridge of Kowno and was the last to leave this inhospitable land.

It is a poor consolation to think that this campaign had been no less disastrous to the Russians than to us. Their army had been decimated during our retreat by disasters and the rigours of the weather, from which the Russian troops had suffered as much as the French army. According to Sir Robert Wilson, English commissioner with the Russian army, more

*Méneval writes "*à la tête.*" Yet Ney, as Méneval states, was *the last* to leave.—R. H. S.

than 200,000 regulars perished there. The second capital of the Russian Empire had been totally consumed together with immense riches, and many provinces had been devastated by the Russians themselves, to make a desert around us. Whilst so many sad events were taking place, a Prussian auxiliary force, commanded by General York, separated itself from Macdonald's army corps and treated with the enemy. Disavowed at first by the King of Prussia, York was recompensed two months later by the same Prince, on signing a treaty of alliance with Russia at Breslau. Prince Schwarzenberg, who commanded the Austrian corps, after having left an open field to the Russian troops who came to cut off our way across the Bérésina, evacuated the Russian territory and returned to Galicia in virtue of a convention which he had signed with the Emperor Alexander's generals*.

The *Moniteur* of June 27th, 1813, reported the King of Naples' departure to his states in the following terms: "The King of Naples, being unwell, has left the command of the army which he has handed over to the viceroy. This latter is more accustomed to great administrations: he enjoys the Emperor's confidence."

Matters were no better in Spain. King Joseph had made proposals to the Cortes assembled in the town of Leon, where deputies were occupied in laying down the basis of their constitution. The successes of the French army in Aragon and Catalonia had given some weight to the proposal made by the King to recognize the

*It must not be forgotten it was Napoleon who had solicited and obtained, from the Emperor of Austria, the rank of Field-Marshal in favour of Prince Schwarzenberg.

fundamental clauses of this constitution. But in the meanwhile the loss of the battle of Salamanca, which had been fought by Marshal Marmont without awaiting the re-enforcements which the King was bringing to him, and the occupation of Madrid by the English General, which was the result of this serious reverse, once more modified the more conciliatory disposition of the Spaniards. The evacuation of Galicia and Andalusia, to which Marshal Soult resigned himself after repeated orders, brought him back to Madrid, which the English General made haste to leave to avoid being surrounded. After having besieged Burgos, which was valiantly defended by General Dubreton for thirty-five days, without any result, the English army withdrew to Salamanca pursued by the army from Portugal, which inflicted serious losses upon it. The re-union of the French armies on the Tormés, the command of which the King handed over to Marshal Soult, gave him the hope of avenging the defeat of Salamanca, but floods of rain, which rendered the roads impassable, delayed the movements of our troops and gave the English General time to decamp. The King had entered Madrid, where he hoped to be able to maintain himself. In spite of the numerous detachments which Napoleon had withdrawn from the French armies in Spain, these armies still numbered ninety thousand men in the centre and west of the Peninsula, and forty thousand men in Aragon and Catalonia with Marshal Suchet at their head.

One of the Emperor's first cares was to endeavour to put an end to his dispute with the Pontifical Court. On January 19th, 1813, he escorted the Empress to Grosbois, where Prince de Wagram gave a grand hunt

in Their Majesties' honour. But instead of returning to Paris, Napoleon went to pass the night at Fontainebleau, where he was not expected: the Empress joined him there on the morrow. Several Italian and French cardinals, archbishops, and bishops, assembled around the Pope in this residence, were busy in negotiating the arrangements which should put an end to the disputes which had taken place for several years between the Holy See and the Tuileries Court. Napoleon, growing impatient at the slowness of these negotiations, and relying on the influence which he knew himself to possess over Pius VII., wished to take advantage of this to deal directly with the Holy Father without any intermediary. In consequence the Emperor had several private conferences with his Holiness, the result of which was that a new concordat was signed in the Empress's apartments in the presence of their councillors and of the court. The Empress Marie Louise had taken a great part in bringing this reconciliation about. She had been to call upon the sovereign pontiff at the time of his arrival at Fontainebleau; she returned there of her own accord after the signing of this concordat, to offer the Holy Father her congratulations. The Pope, who was a very apostle, full of sweetness and charity, loved Napoleon in spite of all; and Napoleon on his side had for him esteem and even affection. It is almost certain that they would have come to an understanding if the Pope's Roman councillors had not unceasingly held up before his eyes to check him the menace of the anathema with which he would be struck in case he were to abandon the rights of the church, or sacrifice the smallest fragment thereof. The Fontainebleau

Concordat was destined to dry up at their very fountain-head all these religious quarrels. It provided for the solution of all the most important questions. First, the establishment of the Pope at Avignon, which was to become the See of Christendom; secondly the fixing of a delay of six months in which the briefs of canonical investiture were to be delivered to the Bishops by the Metropolitan in case these had not received, during the period stated, the bull of investiture from the Pontifical Court. The concordat of 1801 had passed this matter over in silence, and the Pontifical Court had taken advantage of these circumstances, on more than one occasion, to leave churches in France, Italy, and Germany unprovided with priests. No sooner had the Pope been left alone than he once more fell under the influence of his former counsellors, who had been recalled from exile by Napoleon, and who were in the pay of the enemies of France and initiated in their secret designs. They worked upon the conscience of the gentle and venerable Pontiff to bring him to refuse the concessions which he had freely made in a spirit of concord and pacification. The Pope, obedient to their suggestions, addressed the Emperor two months after the signing of the new concordat, a letter, in which he explained his scruples and the reasons which induced him not to carry the conditions of this covenant into effect. The Emperor's only answer was a decree in which he commanded the archbishops, bishops, and chapters to see that these conditions were rigorously carried out.

Affairs in Germany, and especially the precarious state of our alliance with Austria, demanded Napoleon's serious attention. Austria professed the friendliest feel-

ings and was not chary of protestations, but the always equivocal conduct of the Vienna Cabinet kept alive the Emperor's distrust which was certainly thoroughly justified. Every report he received from Vienna informed him that in political circles the dissolution of the Confederation of the Rhine and of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw was being talked of. These pretensions, it is true, were attributed to the allied forces, but the language in which these rumours were hawked about revealed a desire to see these things realized. To enlighten doubts which were still existent in his mind Napoleon thought it better to replace M. Otto, our ambassador in Vienna, by Count de Narbonne, his aide-de-camp, whose old-standing relations with the Viennese aristocracy, during the exile, might render him better able to sound the private intentions of the Vienna Cabinet. The new ambassador was not long in obtaining the revelation of the intention of this Cabinet to propose an armed mediation, thanks to which it should become the arbitrator of peace. The new rôle which Austria was trying to assume changed our situation, for it was evident that France was about to lose the best guarantee she possessed against Austria's bad faith. In declaring herself mediator, the contingent supplied to our army by this power would be no longer forthcoming; and from that time forward the alliance would rest on the most fragile foundations imaginable, and on assurances of friendship of which the Vienna Cabinet was never chary, but whose sincerity Napoleon had reasons to mistrust.

Whilst awaiting the turn which these events were about to take Napoleon devoted himself to details of

home government. Without neglecting the achievement of works which had already been begun, he reduced the sums of money allotted to each. He paid visits to the public establishments and showed himself in the faubourgs, where his simple and homely manners aroused the enthusiasm of the people. These walks in Paris were constantly inspiring the Emperor with ideas for improvements, embellishments and useful reforms. He notably gave orders for municipal works for the distribution of water in the various quarters of the town, and the increase in the number of fountains; for the achievement or construction of market-houses, slaughter-houses, sewers, bridges; for the erection of large buildings intended to receive the archives of the Empire, the University and its dependencies, a school of Fine Arts, with studios and exhibition rooms; and finally for the establishment of four large cemeteries at the four cardinal points of Paris. This useful employment of the few moments which the constant anxiety of war left free to Napoleon is an example of the advantages of every kind which the departments would have derived from the journeys which he proposed to make, as soon as lasting peace should give him leisure to do so.

Napoleon also went with the Empress to the Invalides, reviewed the old soldiers there, inquired as to their wants, tasted the food provided for them, and made the Empress do the same. The sovereigns walked through the gallery in which were exhibited the raised plans of the fortified towns and harbours. The Emperor remarked amongst others the plan of the harbour of Brest, which had just been finished and which he praised highly.

In the beginning of this year, 1813, the Emperor had opened the session of the Legislative body in person, with a speech in which he had spoken of his losses, of his hopes, and of his desire for peace, with the greatest frankness. This speech had been followed by a speech by the Minister of the Interior, in which he read out a statement of the situation of the Empire during the two preceding years.

Napoleon had also busied himself in constituting the Regency, the exercise of which he had decided to confide to the Empress. It had been proposed to him to give a special household to this princess, at the head of which a "*surintendant*" should be placed. However much the Emperor objected to the creation of any fresh charges at court, this proposal had seemed to find favour in his eyes. He had then cast his glance on M. de Narbonne, whose distinguished intelligence and courteous manners had always pleased him, as a fit man to fill this post. But he soon abandoned this project and took this officer as his aide-de-camp, until the time when he sent him to Vienna. M. de Narbonne justified the favour shown him by Napoleon, and served him with constant fidelity until his death, which occurred at Torgau, where he had been appointed governor of the town, in 1813.

The liking attributed to Napoleon for the representatives of the ancient nobility was part of his system of fusion and proceeded from the resolution he had taken to render himself at one with all that was distinguished in France. This consideration outweighed what attraction he may have felt for those polished manners, those delicate flatteries, that fine and often ornate wit, those traditions of good taste and of

urbanity, which, especially formerly, distinguished the pick of the nobility at court. The ensemble of these reasons had prompted Napoleon from the moment of his accession to power to make advances to the representatives of these families, making use of M. de Talleyrand in this work of amalgamation and reconciliation which he had undertaken. It was thus that he had placed the Dukes of Choiseul-Praslin and de Luynes in the Senate at the time of its formation.

Various persons had been proposed to fill the post of secretary to the commands of the Empress-Regent, amongst others M. Ferrand, a former councillor to the Parliament of Paris, the same gentleman who became Louis XVIII.'s minister under the first Restoration and who intrepidly assumed the responsibility of laws best calculated to exasperate public opinion; then M. Duchesne de Gillevoisin, another parliamentarian. These selections not having been approved of, the post of secretary to the commands of the Empress-Regent remained vacant. When the Emperor decided to constitute the Empress's Regency I was seriously ill, for I had returned exhausted with the fatigues of the retreat from Moscow. Napoleon, whom I was consequently unable to attend, ordered Duroc, the Grand Marshal of the palace to write to me, that the need I had of repose, and his wish not to remove me from his person, had prompted him to register me as "in convalescence," to use his expression, near the Empress's person, and that in consequence he had appointed me secretary of the commands of this princess. Some days later he conferred the title and powers of Regent on the Empress by letters patent, and she took the oath in this capacity in a cabinet council which was convened

for the purpose at the Elysée. King Joseph was acknowledged lieutenant-general of the Emperor, and the Prince Archchancellor first councillor to the Regency, and charged with giving his visa to all documents emanating therefrom. A Minister of State, the Duc de Cadore, was appointed secretary to the Regency and filled the post of secretary of state during Count Daru's absence, when the latter accompanied the Emperor beyond our frontiers. At the same time Marshal Duc de Conegliano was designed to fill the functions of colonel-general of the guard and General Caffarelli, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, was charged with the command of the detachments of the said guard which remained in Paris.

In my new capacity as secretary to the commands of the Empress, I received through the agency of Count Daru, Minister Secretary of State, the Emperor's instructions with a copy of the letters patent which bestowed the title of Regent on the Empress Marie Louise, a copy of the senatus consultum constituting the Regency, and of the senatus consultum fixing the Empress's jointure.

This is Count Daru's letter:—

"MONSIEUR LE BARON.—The Emperor having appointed you secretary of the commands to the Empress-Regent has commanded me to communicate to you the documents of interest to H.M. which it is necessary for you, for this reason, to be acquainted with. In consequence I have the honour to send you herewith copies of the organic senatus consultum on the Regency, and of the senatus consultum which fixes the Empress's jointure.

"It is right that you should hold these documents at the Empress's disposal and that you be able to lay them before

H.M. whenever She desires to see them. The Emperor also wishes you to prepare the protocol of the Empress's cabinet and that you should present it to the Minister of Exterior Relations who will submit it to H.M. The original of this protocol will remain in your hands. It is also necessary that you should withdraw all letters and communications which may have been addressed to the Empress from the Ministry of Exterior Relations, and that in future you should write the answers to such communications.

"It is essential, M. le Baron, that you should procure everything concerning the statutes of the imperial family and the constitutional acts of the State, to place them at the disposal of H.M. the Empress whenever She may need to see them.

"Such, Monsieur le Baron, are the Emperor's desires, which H.M. has charged me to acquaint you with.

"I have the honour to offer you the assurance of my high esteem.

"(Signed): DARU."

When I was appointed secretary of the commands of the Regent, and as this appointment was only a temporary one, I did not draw the salary attached to this post. The Emperor provided the funds for this salary with an allotment of four thousand francs a month and furnished a very fine house at St. Cloud, for my use, requesting me to live there with my family, whenever the Empress should be in residence in the palace there. At the same time he gave my wife and myself our daily *entrées* to the Empress's evening drawing-rooms. And lastly he ordered me to write to him every day, which I never failed to do and without a single interruption.

I took possession of my functions in the Empress's service some days before she was declared Regent. I had had frequent opportunities of appreciating the

gentleness and the kindness of this princess; my frequent relations with her taught me to know these winning qualities still better. She took pains to render the exercise of my functions as easy and as pleasant as possible, so that they were a real sinecure. The order established in the despatch of affairs was so well arranged that the intervention of the Regent was hardly noticed. She was in reserve for extraordinary circumstances, which fortunately did not occur (the death of the Emperor for example). My chief employment was my correspondence with the Emperor when he was away, and my work at the Council of State where I was on ordinary duty.

After having provided for all matters which claimed his foresight, matters which we have just enumerated in part, Napoleon at once prepared himself to join his army. Almost on the eve of his departure Prince Schwarzenberg, announced long previously as a bearer of good news, at last arrived in Paris. The Emperor contented himself with putting him into communication with the Duc de Bassano, so anxious was he to find himself on the scene of the military operations. The Russians had crossed the Elbe and were occupying Dresden, which the King of Saxony had left in going to Prague. Prussia had concluded a treaty of alliance with Russia, at Kalitch, on February 27th. The Emperor left St. Cloud for Mayence on April 15th, at four o'clock in the morning.

In the morning of the same day I received the following note from the Empress:--

"You are sure to know that the Emperor has gone. I like to think that you also are a good deal grieved at this. I beg you, if M. Fain has not yet left, to tell him that I want him very much to give me news of the Emperor. I did not find time to tell him so myself. I beg you also to send me the list of entrées, the Emperor wishing them to be sent to me in the course of the day. I beg you to believe in the assurance of the sentiments with which I am your much attached

"LOUISE."

"SAINT-CLOUD, APRIL 15th, 1813."

The first essay in her new rôle which the Empress made was a reception of the diplomatic corps, which took place on the following Sunday. She sustained the character of Empress-Regent with nobility and affableness.

The first success of the campaign of 1813, gained six days after the Emperor's arrival at the army, a success which was violently contested, was the battle of Lutzen, which opened the gates of Dresden to the French army. The King of Saxony made haste, immediately afterwards, to return to his capital.

In the meanwhile conferences were taking place in Paris between Prince Schwarzenberg and the Duc de Bassano. They were limited on the part of the Austrian envoy to an abundance of friendly protestations which lost in value on account of the manner in which they were lavished. In one of these conferences, however, the prince let slip a very significant statement. Apropos of obligations which seemed to be a natural consequence of a family alliance, Prince Schwarzenberg said: "Politics made the marriage, politics can unmake it." Although M. de Bassano did not acquaint the

Emperor with this remark, the reserve of the Austrian ambassador who formulated no declaration aroused the suspicion that he had a mental reservation and that he was trying to gain time. In the end however came the proposal of an armed mediation, accompanied by a renewal of friendly protestations, and the assurance that if Austria presented herself under arms it was in order to force the allies to make peace. Napoleon then decided to send Prince Eugene off to Italy, where he considered his presence would be more useful, in case of a rupture. At the same time he recalled Marshal Soult, whom he wished to employ in the Great Army, from Spain.

Whilst the Emperor was in Dresden, the Austrian general, Bubna was sent to him. It was always the same language that was held, but after a great deal of reticence it was hinted that Austria's fidelity to the French alliance merited as a compensation, on the part of France, a renunciation of the protectorate of the Confederation of the Rhine, the dislocation of the Grand-duchy of Warsaw, and the restitution of Illyria to Austria, the said restitution not being the subject of any contestation. M. de Bubna at the same time proposed that a general congress should be opened, declaring "that Russia and Prussia admit Austria's mediation, but that he cannot explain what will be the nature of this mediation."

Napoleon losing all trust in the friendly dispositions affected towards him by Austria, but still dissembling, decided to send the Duc de Vicence to Russian head-quarters to come to an understanding with the Czar on the basis of general pacification, preferring to deal

with an open enemy rather than with a perfidious ally. The Emperor Alexander who was already engaged to Austria refused to receive the Duc de Vicence.

In the meanwhile the victories of Bautzen and Wurtschen determined the allies to propose an armistice during which, they added, the mediating power would expose the basis of peace, the armed mediation having accordingly been denounced as disposed of. Napoleon once more agreed to this armistice, and had reason to regret doing so thereafter. But he hoped, to make use of his expression, "to get a better insight of the pieces on his chessboard", to find means, thanks to this truce, of approaching the Emperor Alexander and of making Austria pay the price of her bad faith.

Whilst I was fulfilling my functions in the Empress's service as secretary of her commands, this princess received one day the following letter from the Emperor:

"MADAME AND DEAR FRIEND,—I send you an open letter for the Duc d'Otrante; you will send for the duke and you will hand him this letter yourself. If he needs a passport you will order one to be given to him, my desire being that this mission should remain secret. You may however speak of it to the Archchancellor, my desire being that nothing be ever kept secret from him. But you will arrange that, whilst the Archchancellor is with you, the Duc d'Otrante have been already sent for and be present.

"(Signed): NAPOLEON."

"DRESDEN, MAY 11th, 1813."

In conformity with the request contained in this letter which was handed to him, Fouché left for Dresden. Napoleon thought it prudent not to leave this individual in Paris under the grave circumstances

in which France and the Empire were placed. The object of this letter was to remove Fouché from Paris and to send him to Illyria to replace General Bertrand, whose presence was more useful with the army.

By a letter on the same day the Emperor commissioned the Empress to send the Duc de Bassano to Dresden also, but these two letters had been written with very different purposes.

Since I have begun quoting letters written from Napoleon to Marie Louise, I will copy two more, the first of which will show both the Empress's ingenuousness and the Emperor's extreme delicacy in all matters concerning the proprieties, and to what a pitch he carried his scruples in these matters:

"MADAME AND DEAR FRIEND,—I have received the letter in which you inform me that you received the Archchancellor whilst you were in bed. My pleasure is that, under no circumstances whatsoever, and on no pretext, you receive anybody whilst you are in bed, no matter who he may be. That is only permissible after thirty years of age.

"(Signed): NAPOLEON."

"At HAYNAU, JUNE 7th, 1813."

Another letter from the Emperor:

"MADAME AND DEAR FRIEND,—I receive your letter of May 30th. I think that it is useless for you to go to Notre Dame for the *Te Deum* for the battle of Wurtschen. It will be sufficient for you to go the Tuileries, and that the *Te Deum* be chanted with pomp in the chapel there at the ordinary hour of the court, and that you hold a grand drawing-room in the evening. I am writing this in the supposition that it has not been officially announced that you will go to Notre Dame, for, of course, if the programme has

appeared, it must not be countermanded, and there would be more inconvenience in not going than in going.

"(Signed): NAPOLEON."

"LIEGNITZ, JUNE 9th, 1813."

In another of his letters to Marie Louise, Napoleon reverts to the same subject: he tells the Empress that she did well to go to the *Te Deum* which was chanted for the battle of Lutzen, but that such ceremonies should not be too frequent, and that it is because they are rare that they are imposing. "As a general rule," he adds, "it is suitable that the *Te Deum* should be chanted on the Sunday following: it is a mistake to delay it. I do not see why Pentecost should prevent the singing of a *Te Deum.* When an event has passed by, other events happen, and that may give rise to all sorts of inconveniences. Have a grand theatrical performance and a large Court at St. Cloud on that day."

These letters arrived at the time when the programme of the ceremony was published in the *Moniteur*; the Empress accordingly proceeded with great pomp to Notre Dame, to conform with the orders which she had received.

In the course of these glorious commencements of the 1813 campaign the Emperor and the army had experienced two notable losses. In a reconnoitring, expedition, effected on the eve of the battle of Lutzen the Duc d'Istrie—Bessières—was struck by a bullet in the head and killed. Colonel of Napoleon's guides in the army of Italy, and afterwards commander of the imperial guard, Bessières had followed the Emperor

in all his campaigns. His bravery, his great experience in the cavalry branch, as much as his devotion to Napoleon's person, had raised him to the rank of Marshal.

The grief occasioned to the Emperor by Marshal Bessières's death was raised to the highest pitch by the death of the Duc de Frioul—Duroc—who, less fortunate than the former, survived for twelve hours a terrible wound which he received on the evening of the battle of Wurtschen. The enemy's last cannon-ball sought him out far from the firing, in the midst of a group where he was conversing with General Kirgener and Marshal Mortier. This ball opened the Grand Marshal's stomach, killed General Kirgener, and only grazed the Duke of Trevise. Napoleon was present at Duroc's last moments. He went to see him after the sentries had been placed, at the house to which he had been transported, and found him fully conscious. This interview was a most poignant one. Napoleon exchanged some words with the most regretted of his officers, in which Duroc expressed sentiments of the purest devotion and the Emperor his bitter regrets and the hope that they might meet again in another world. Napoleon, a prey to the most terrible emotion, remained more than a quarter of an hour grasping Duroc's right hand with his head resting upon it. The deep silence which reigned during this painful scene was broken by Duroc, who begged the Emperor to go away from so sad a sight. And Napoleon, unable to speak, could say nothing to him but: "Farewell, then, my friend." He thereupon withdrew, leaning on Marshal Soult and the Grand Equerry, and went to shut himself up in his tent where he spent the night alone weeping for his friend and reflecting on the painful warnings

which the genius which presided over his destinies seemed to be giving him.

After his return from Mayence, where he went to spend some days with the Empress, Napoleon halted in the course of one of his marches before the house in the village where the Grand Marshal had died. He sent for the pastor and commissioned him to have a small monument raised in the interior of this modest abode, in remembrance of the loss which he had experienced there. Napoleon wished the tenant of the house to become its owner, with the charge of preserving the monument in it, and ordered the amount of the purchase money as well as the sum of the mausoleum to be paid over at once. *

One might have said that Napoleon who had been so long favoured by fortune brought evil fortune to all his people; on the morrow of Duroc's death, Colonel Bernard, one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, broke his leg whilst escorting Napoleon's carriage.

After the conclusion of an armistice, signed by the French, Russian, and Prussian commissioners, M. de Metternich arrived in Dresden. On the 28th of June he had that famous interview with Napoleon in which, casting off the mask, he demanded, as the price of Austria's fidelity to the French alliance, the cession of Illyria, and half of Italy, the renunciation of the Protectorate of the Confederation of the Rhine, the abandonment of Holland and of Spain, of the Swiss mediation and that of the Duchy of Warsaw. The answer which the Emperor made, in an outburst of just indigna-

* Duroc was killed, as a matter of fact, near Reichenbach, in Oberlausitz—May 22nd, 1813—R. H. S.

tion which he could not control in face of so arrogant an expression of wishes, is well known: "Ah! Metternich. How much has England paid you to make me such proposals?"* The explanation of this language was indeed soon arrived at by the news of the convention, which M. de Stadion, the Austrian minister, had signed on June 27th, the day before Metternich's audience with Napoleon—a covenant by virtue of which the allies accepted the offer of the mediation of the cabinet of Vienna, and settled the conditions which should be imposed on France. These conditions were still more implicitly determined by the treaty of Trachemberg, dated the 9th July following, which laid down the plan of the military operations of the campaign, and the distribution of the subsidies supplied by England to the coalition. Austria and Sweden were the contracting parties in this treaty, and united their contingents to the Russian and Prussian forces.

After the preceding explanations it would be of little interest to investigate at what period the Austrian Cabinet commenced negotiations with the allied Cabinets. Various indications would suggest that this took place as far back as the time when Prince Schwarzenberg was sent to Paris bearing professions of friendship and fidelity to the French alliance. It was, as the reader has seen, just at the time of Napoleon's departure for the army. Bad faith could not be carried any further!

Whilst awaiting the opening of the congress which was to be held at Prague, and the end of the nego-

* "Upon my oath," said Metternich to General Berthier, on leaving the palace, after this famous interview, "your master has gone out of his mind."—R. H. S.

tiations with the object of prolonging a truce, Napoleon, who could no longer have any doubt about the understanding come to by Austria and the alliance, left for Mayence. He wanted to spend some days there to give orders for various arrangements which he considered necessary for the truest interests of the Empire, in case of a resumption of hostilities.

He had asked the Empress to come and meet him there, in a letter in which he mentioned the names of the persons who were to accompany her. I was mentioned by name. At the same time as he wrote to the Empress he addressed a letter to the Archchancellor on the same subject. He even took the precaution to send an article which was to be published in the *Moniteur* to announce this journey.

The Empress left St. Cloud on July 23rd, at six o'clock in the morning. She slept at Châlons and Metz, received the principal authorities there, and arrived at Mayence on the 25th at three o'clock in the morning, in very bad weather. She was afraid that the Emperor might have got there before her, but he only arrived at six o'clock in the evening of the same day. Napoleon was in good health, his complexion was heightened and bronzed by the air of the camps. It was with real pleasure that I saw the Emperor again, and he received me very kindly. I once more attended him as secretary until the arrival of his cabinet, and was entrusted with numerous commissions by him. It pleased me to find myself once more living in this familiar and confidential manner with him, and I witnessed Napoleon's departure with sorrow. My heart was oppressed as I took leave of him, for I was worried with Austria's suspicious conduct, and the doubtful issue of the congress of Prague.

During his stay in Mayence the Emperor lived in a very retired manner, very busy in his cabinet with military and diplomatic correspondence, working with his ministers in turn, but especially with the Minister of Finance, on matters of inner administration, and also in view of the uncertain duration of the struggle which was about to begin. The princes adjoining the Confederation of the Rhine, amongst others the Grand-duke and Grand-duchess of Baden, the Prince Primate, the Prince of Nassau, the Grand-duke of Hesse-Darmstadt, took advantage of the Emperor's stay at Mayence to come and pay him court. The beauty of the weather which had become quite serene again enabled the Empress to drive out every day in an open carriage; her court had been increased by the arrival of the Princess de Wagram who had come with her children to Mayence to see her husband. The Countess de Lobau was impatiently expected there by her husband, who was very much upset by the delay in her arrival. When she at last arrived it was on the day before that fixed for Napoleon's departure. During his stay at Mayence the Empress, who wished to give the Emperor a present on his name-day, which was approaching, commissioned Isabey, who was taking the waters at Vichy, to paint the portrait of herself and her son in a group on a snuff-box.

Napoleon left Mayence on August 1st at six in the evening to return to Dresden, and arrived there at nine o'clock in the morning of the 4th. It was from this city that was issued a decree which has been styled an act of excessive arbitrariness. At the time of Napoleon's journey to Holland in the Autumn of 1812, he had heard at Antwerp, that the mayor and the directors

of customs were charged with fraud, having caused a loss of over two millions to the city, this sum having been divided amongst the embezzlers. The Emperor had issued a decree at Flushing, which sent the individuals who were accused of having embezzled this money, to be tried at the Court of Sessions to be held at Brussels. A very long trial ensued which ended in the accused being acquitted, on the dishonest verdict of a jury, which had probably been won over to the side of the embezzlers in advance. As was to be expected this verdict produced a great scandal. Napoleon, who had the reports of his Inspectors of Finance, knew that the receiver of customs, directed by the mayor, and by the head of the department at the prefecture, had double sets of books for registering the receipts from the customs, and would not allow such a swindle to remain unpunished, and of his own authority suspended the verdict which acquitted the cheats. At the same time he commissioned the Court of Cassation to designate another tribunal before which the trial should be commenced. This decision was without any doubt a blow to the independence of the jury, but corruption triumphing, morality was on the other hand outraged and the conscience of the sovereign in whose name justice was rendered was charged with an obviously iniquitous judgment. In this state of things was the embezzlement of public money to be encouraged with immunity, or was the insufficiency of the law to be remedied by an act of vigour? Napoleon could not be expected to accept the responsibility of a decision which was calculated to injure public morality, and this proves his vigilance for the interests of the citizens even in the midst of the cares of war.

At the same time the harbour basin of Cherbourg was finished, and the letting in of the sea into this basin, was an important event. The Emperor expressed his wish to the Empress that she should be present at this inauguration, in order to add to its solemnity. It was in consequence decided that Marie Louise should proceed to Cherbourg on her return to Paris. I give below the letter which Napoleon wrote on this subject to the Archchancellor, when he had returned to Dresden. The letters which I gave above, and the following one, will suffice to show the reach of the Emperor's foresight, and to what minute details he could descend:

"MY COUSIN,—I shall be pleased that the Empress should go to Cherbourg, first of all to enjoy the beautiful sight of the sea being let into the basin, and secondly, to invest this operation with solemnity. The Minister of Marine can precede the Empress to Cherbourg to prepare her reception, and the best means of amusing her during her stay. The Empress will leave on the 17th or the 18th, and the operation can take place on her name-day. The principal authorities of the department will be present, and so interesting a spectacle will not fail to attract an immense crowd of sightseers. Insert all the particulars of the Empress's journey and return to Mayence in the papers. And hereupon I pray God, etc.

"(Signed): NAPOLEON."

"DRESDEN, 7th AUG. 1813."

Leaving Mayence, the Empress returned to Paris by way of Aix-la-Chapelle, following the banks of the Rhine. She left on August 2nd on board a yacht which the Prince of Nassau had placed at her service, the honours on board being done by an officer of the house of Nassau. Her suite was composed of the

Duchess de Montebello, Count of Beauharnais, Knight of Honour, who had followed her to Mayence; Mesdames de Talhouet, and Lauriston, General Caffarelli, the chamberlains Vaulgrenand and Cornélissen, Cussy the Prefect of the Palace, and myself. On arriving at Saint Goar the Empress's first care was to write to the Emperor. She continued her journey on the Rhine on the morrow, stopping at Coblentz and at Cologne. She left her yacht at the latter place, and took to her carriage. She arrived at Aix-la-Chapelle on Aug. 5th, visited the cathedral, and returned to St. Cloud by way of Liége, Namur, Soissons, and Compiègne. She was received in the cities in which she stopped by the principal authorities and never failed to give them an audience before her departure. On our arrival at Coblentz I found to my great surprise the wife of my colleague Mounier in a waiting-room in the house which was intended for the Empress's residence. Her husband who had remained at Dresden during the Emperor's journey to Mayence had taken advantage of his absence to pay his wife a visit at Coblentz. Madame Mounier came with the wish to be presented to the Empress and I was delighted to be able to render her this slight service. Madame de Montesquiou was waiting where the Empress's carriage stopped to place her son in her arms. He was then a very fine child, with every appearance of strength and health, and his intelligence was developing in a remarkable manner. The Queen of Naples presented him with a little open carriage in which he used to drive about the castle gardens in great glee. This carriage was drawn by a team of sheep which had been trained by the clever equerry.

The inauguration of the Cherbourg harbour, which at first was to have taken place on the 15th August, the Emperor's name-day, was put off until the 25th, the Empress's name-day, in order to give the Empress time to rest from the fatigues of the journey from Mayence. She was kind enough to dispense me from following her to Cherbourg. She arrived there: "half dead with fatigue, and quite broken up by the bad roads which she had met with after passing Carentan, suffocated with the dust, and with a very bad cold on the chest," as she herself expressed it in letters dated August 25th and 26th. In another letter which the Empress was good enough to write to me she further told me in speaking of this inauguration: "the basin was opened yesterday, but the fine moment at which the water burst in with a rush and a roar happened just at the time when everybody was at dinner, and nobody saw it, and, as a misfortune never comes alone, I also missed seeing the fireworks."

The congress had been opened at Prague to treat for peace. The disposition of the allies was by no means pacific, but they were obliged to dissemble the fact. Austria had need of time to finish her preparations for war. As a matter of fact the Prague Congress was only a lure. Exchange of credentials even could not take place. The plenipotentiaries did not even see each other. Austria who had set the price of the abandonment of Illyria, half of Italy, the abandonment of Holland and Spain, on her alliance with France when Napoleon had 300,000 men in the centre of Germany and as yet had not succeeded in her object, dominated in the congress as mediator. Forgetting her part and the necessity of holding the

scales with an equal hand, she looked after her own interests whilst pleading the cause of the coalition. The congress which was to have opened on July 5th did not begin until the 29th. The allies attributed the delay in the opening of the negotiations to the late arrival of the French plenipotentiaries, who did not assemble at Prague until the 27th. One was the Duc de Vicence, the other the Count de Narbonne. The latter was at Prague at the same time as the Russian and Prussian plenipotentiaries. The Duc de Vicence, commissioned to treat for the prolongation of the truce was detained at Neumarkt by the real or alleged non-arrival of the papers of the allied commissioners, which delayed the signing of this convention until the 27th. Another motive which made the Emperor haste to send the Duc de Vicence immediately to Prague was the insulting choice, so Napoleon considered it, made by the Russian Government in the person of M. d'Anstett, a born Frenchman who was serving against France, to represent Russia. He had been rejected by an Imperial decree as a Frenchman intervening in the name of a foreign power, in a treaty in which French interests were being discussed. The maintenance of the choice of this person was a sign that the allies, who were sure of the co-operation of Austria, considered it unnecessary to treat us with ordinary courtesy. A general plan of campaign had been definitely decided upon in the conference at Trachemberg, in which Austria and Sweden had equally taken part. The Russian and Prussian envoys were sure in their minds, and knew perfectly what to think of the real intentions of these two powers. The strong suspicions, amounting almost to certitude, which Napo-

leon had conceived of what was being plotted against him for several months past, forced him to circumspection, and made it necessary for him to find out what were the traps which were being laid for him, as well as the end and the imminence of the dangers to which he was exposed. The armistice was to expire on August 10th. Could 12 days, a part of which was passed in discussion of the forms or of the traditions of usages observed in similar congresses, suffice to resolve the question, complicated by the conflict of so many different interests which had to be reconciled, and to effect the general pacification of Europe? These pressing and various interests were moreover complicated by the pretentions, both patent and dissimulated, of the mediating power. Other incidents provoked by the Russian and Prussian commissioners, who were backed up by the mediator, helped towards the utter waste of precious time. All three of them were at a loss what to imagine to shorten the duration of this ephemeral congress. The mediator hid her perfidious designs under a show of good-will towards the French negotiators, but her flagrant perfidy and her whole conduct showed that Austria had only intervened in the congress of Prague with the object of forcing our hands. At last, three days before the expiration of the truce, an ultimatum was notified to the French plenipotentiary. No ultimatum, even when it is expected, can be accepted without final examination. Time, which is materially necessary to grasp the nature of sacrifices against which there can be no appeal, is requisite. One must be able to yield with honour and without a loss of dignity. On the second day following, August 9th, Napoleon made

known what concessions he consented to. They were those which had been asked for by the allies, except the reserve of the harbour of Trieste, the possession of which interested the mediating power alone. France simply insisted on obtaining a guarantee of the integrity of Denmark, this last restriction in favour of a faithful ally was an act of loyalty. On the following day, the 10th, at midnight the allied plenipotentiaries, encouraged by the news of the reverses which our arms had suffered in Spain, and especially by our defeat at Vittoria, which put an end to French domination in that country, without answering the last proposals of our envoys contented themselves in declaring through the Austrian plenipotentiary that their powers had expired. The Austrian plenipotentiary in communicating this declaration added that his mission was also terminated. Even in admitting that Austria's mediation had come to an end all negotiations with this power should not have been refused to us. The Austrian Cabinet, it is true, had prostituted the part of mediator by uniting itself to our enemies in spite of or rather thanks to this title, but we were not nominally at least at war with the Emperor Francis. Austria had to justify the attitude which she was about to take towards us: neutrality, alliance, or declaration of war. She preferred roughly to tear off the transparent mask, with which she had so long covered her face, and to declare war on France without any previous explanation. She was ready; all her arrangements with the coalition had been decided upon—her act of treachery was accomplished. Napoleon was expecting an answer to his proposals when General Narbonne came to inform him of the dissolution of the congress; a last hope still

kept the Duc de Vicence back at Prague. On hearing this news, however, Napoleon gave his consent to all that had been asked of him, and sent General Bubna off at full speed to carry it to the Emperor of Austria. The answer was that it was too late (some hours too late!) and that he must address himself to the Emperor Alexander. This prince who had arrived on the 16th at Brandeitz, where the Emperor of Austria was staying, rejected all proposals and urged the Austrian monarch to run the risk of war; at the same time Austria's manifesto appeared. M. de Bassano in a final note addressed to M. de Metternich, after having pointed out to him the perfidy of this conduct, proposed to him the re-union of a congress at which all powers, both great and small should be represented, where all the questions should be solemnly laid down, and where it would not be expected that they should be decided upon either in a week, or a month; where it would be their task to consult all interests, to compensate sacrifices which had been made, and to render peace advantageous and honourable for all. The Austrian minister answered in an evasive manner to this note, and the resumption of hostilities was fixed for August the 16th. If a peace, concluded at Prague, should have become a reality, it would without doubt have been a good thing, especially compared with the rigorous conditions which were afterwards imposed upon France. But we have been able to form an opinion upon the insincerity of the intentions of our enemies as well as of the mediating power. In the audience which Napoleon had awarded to the Minister Metternich at Dresden in the previous month of June, he had reproached him with having allowed himself to be

won over by England. The reproach was an imprudent one, but it was not this reproach which brought about Austria's desertion. The sole and real motive for this desertion was that the Cabinet of Vienna and the other cabinets of the coalition whose common interest it was to take advantage of our misfortunes in order to crush us out, were too closely bound up together. Austria had long since made the calculation that it would be better for her to unite herself to friends, strong in numbers, than to expose herself to the danger of remaining the benevolent auxiliary of an isolated ally. If instead of taking recourse to treachery and bad faith, the Austrian Cabinet had frankly and without ambiguity expounded wishes, which were quite natural in the position in which it was placed, Napoleon, convinced of its sincerity, would certainly have consented to sacrifices loyally asked for, feeling as he did that concessions on the part of France had become necessary. When one remembers the treaty which had been concluded one year previously between Austria and France—a treaty by which the two forces mutually guaranteed the integrity of each other's territory —one will understand all the fragility of political alliances. The indemnities and the increase of territory asked for by Austria, which we had promised to grant her, were not only a compensation for the charges of her co-operation in the Russian expedition, but further —do not let us forget it— "a monument of the intimate and lasting union which existed between the two sovereigns."

The unfortunate issue of the war of 1812, having made it impossible for France to keep her promises, Austria thought it safer to forget her engagements and

to crush us. Already in the month of February, she had changed her feelings, without however having as yet modified her language. The Vienna Cabinet has itself admitted that the allies and Austria were already agreed in principle, before this union was consecrated by treaties. Why then such a profusion of lying protestations? Because Austria needed the time to complete her armaments and to prepare her desertion. It is admitted that this crafty derogation on the part of the Vienna Cabinet from the spirit which had dictated the terms of Austria's alliance with France in 1812, and this violation of plighted faith, can be excused as very skilful political calculations. However this may be, the Austrian Government, according to our opinion, was called to play another part, the effects of which would have been more profitable to Austria in the future and above all would have been more honourable to the character of the Austrian minister. The Cabinet of Vienna ought to have remained faithful to the policy which had led to the sacrifice of one of the Austrian archduchesses, to have united itself closely to France from that day forward, and thus have forced Napoleon to take this attitude of Austria, both wise and loyal at the same time, into account. Instead of following this line of action, the Austrian Government, without at first conceiving the idea of overthrowing Napoleon, thought only of profiting by his despoilment, by entering into the general European coalition. It has frequently been said that if we had thrown gold into the scale, the balance would have been in our favour. That is still the opinion of a number of people who think corruption an important element of success. That was also

Fouché's doctrine. During the Prague congress, the Emperor showed him a very handsome snuffbox enriched with diamonds, which he intended for M. de Metternich. "Do you know," said Napoleon, "that this is a present of thirty thousand francs?" "And it is with that," cried Fouché, interrupting him, "that you expect to win over the Austrian minister! It's not thirty thousand francs that you ought to give him, but millions." The Emperor answered with a gesture of disgust to the cynicism of this remark, addressed to the man who had the greatest horror of corruption. A fact which appears to be above doubt, and which will be entirely revealed in time, is that a secret council, presided over by the Emperor of Austria, and composed of a very small number of his most intimate councillors, was held at Vienna before the departure of Minister Metternich to Dresden. The names of the persons who composed this council are mentioned, and it is stated that at this council the reasons which should engage the Austrian Cabinet to remain true to the French alliance, or to abandon and make common cause with the allies, were vigorously discussed. A former minister, Count Baldani, known for the energy of his opposition to France, was summoned to this council. Set aside at the moment of Marie Louise's marriage, the enmity with which the French press treated this minister had caused the Emperor of Austria, whose confidence in him was increased by this circumstance, to recall him. One can easily imagine what opinions were expressed by this person during the discussion of this serious question. Suffice it to say that the majority of the council expressed the opinion that the alliance with France had not produced the favourable

results which had been hoped for, that fidelity to this alliance would be sterile, and that Austria on the other hand would derive real and decisive advantages by placing herself on the side of the allies. The Austrian Government accordingly made up its mind to come to an understanding with the allies and to prepare for a rupture with France. Furnished with instructions in this spirit, M. de Metternich left for Dresden. The result of this minister's mission and his conversation with Napoleon—a conversation in which Metternich, so to say, laid at one stroke the foundations of the monument, brilliant rather than solid, which he proposed to raise in re-establishing the greatness of the Austrian empire—these things are well known. Metternich, moreover, in putting on the maintenance of his master's alliance the price of the abandonment of Illyria, of one half of Italy, of the protectorate of the Confederation of the Rhine, of Holland and Spain, was sure of revolting Napoleon's legitimate pride and of bringing him to break the feeble bonds, between the two empires, which he still hesitated to destroy.

These cunning negotiations bring me to speak of the reproach made against the Duc de Bassano of having dissuaded the Emperor from signing the peace at Prague, and under other decisive circumstances. I do not know on what foundations such an accusation has been based. It shows but a poor knowledge of Napoleon's character to imagine that he was accessible to the insinuations and influence of those about him, when capital resolutions, of which he considered himself the sole judge, had to be taken, no matter how great his confidence might be in the lights of his councillors. This reflection moreover cannot be applied to the Duc

de Bassano, who was in favour of peace. This minister will hold an honourable place amongst the faithful men who placed their faculties and their devotion at the Emperor's service, who helped him in his noble task of working for the good and for the greatness of his country, and whose zeal was neither servile nor blind. His will always be the merit of having served France, in the person of his chief, with fidelity and discernment, of never having deserved ill of his confidence, and of having remained true to him in adversity.

The Emperor had once more to fight against the allied armies, increased by the entire force of Austria, whilst but for the intervention of this power peace would have been concluded. Austria's partiality at the congress of Prague which would be better described by the name of treachery, the refusal to admit the free discussion of concessions which were certainly worthy of debate, the cold and insulting rupture of the negotiations, which left no door open to pacification, convinced Napoleon that he had no other alternative than to conquer or to die, or to abdicate if the nation abandoned him. Later on, Napoleon abdicated under circumstances where the welfare of France seemed to render such a step necessary, but that was not the case at that time and the Emperor did not consider himself at liberty to surrender to foreigners provinces which composed the integrity of the territory which had been confided by the French nation to his keeping. With what applause would not his contemporaries and many of his traducers themselves have hailed him, what blessings would have been reserved for his memory, had he only been successful.

The fatal news of Austria's desertion deeply affected

the Empress Marie Louise. She feared that it might result in a diminution of the Emperor's affection for her, but he did not cease to give her proofs of his confidence. She on her side tried to inspire her husband with the trust she had in her father's probity and offered, prompted by a feeling which may be styled French, to act as peace-maker between them. Marie Louise had indeed at that time so entirely assumed French habits that in her letters to her father which were written in German, she was often forced to make use of French expressions, having forgotten the German equivalents.

It is known that up to August 30th, 1813, the French army won victories which revived hopes which had been weakened by Austria's desertion. The Empress shared in the general satisfaction created in our country by this good news. She did me the honour of writing to me from Cherbourg, on August 31st, on the occasion of the victory at Dresden on the 27th. This is her letter:

"My health would be good enough, but for a bad cold on the chest which tires me greatly. I shall, however, do nothing to cure it until I get back to Paris. Besides the good news which I have received to-day will do me much more good than all the drugs imaginable. I hope that this great victory will soon bring back the Emperor and peace with him."

Another letter, dated from Rouen, September 2nd, Marie Louise having stopped in that town on her way back to Paris, ran as follows:

"You must be very pleased with all the particulars of the splendid victory which the Emperor has just won. What pleases me most is to know that he did not expose himself. God grant that it may bring us peace. I want it badly, as do all persons who are devoted to the Emperor."

The desertion of Austria, which had added to the forces of the allies 200,000 men, seemed to forebode that fresh enemies would rise up against us, and Napoleon had been obliged to prepare himself to meet this new situation. Already on the 16th of August, he had set out from Dresden, after having confided to the corps of Marshal Saint-Cyr the defence of this central point. Having travelled into Silesia in order to reconnoitre the Prussian army, which he defeated in several engagements, the Emperor then returned against the great Austrian army which had just entered Saxony. Deceived by the departure of Napoleon whom they believed to be in Silesia the Austrians wished to profit by his absence to take possession of Dresden, and crush the corps of Marshal Saint-Cyr. But Napoleon, wishing above all to save Dresden, returned rapidly to the capital of Saxony which was menaced by the great army of the allies. He arrived there on the 26th August in the morning, followed by the corps of Marshal Ney. The town was already surrounded by immense forces before which the feeble corps of Marshal Saint-Cyr was bound to succumb. The unlooked-for arrival of Napoleon restored confidence already shaken in several German corps allied to the French, and re-assured the king and his family who were preparing for flight. The people hailed him as a liberator. The Emperor's plans were quickly made. In the night of the 26th to the 27th August the Austro-Russian army which was commanded by Prince Schwarzenberg gave the signal for the attack, and a general and terrible battle ensued. Napoleon had some officers killed and wounded at his side, the strife only ceasing at nine o'clock at night. The allies lost thirty thousand men killed, wounded,

or prisoners, a part of their artillery, and an enormous quantity of equipages, stragglers, and convoys of wounded. The French general, Moreau, returned from America at the instigation of Bernadotte to aid the Emperor of Russia in his councils, assisted at this battle. Injured by a mortal wound which necessitated the amputation of both legs, he expired the following day. Such was the sad end of a Frenchman, crowned with a splendid military aureole, whom death seized upon in the midst of the enemies' ranks whilst committing a flagrant crime against his country.*

The Emperor of Russia had the body of General Moreau buried in the catholic church of Saint Petersburg. He addressed a letter of condolence to his widow, presented her with 500,000 roubles, and conferred upon her a pension of thirty thousand roubles. The Emperor had assuredly the right to render these honours to the memory of Moreau and to accord these favours to the family of that general which was quite willing to accept them. But what is to be said of the King of France—Louis XVIII.—who after his restoration conferred on Madame Moreau the Marshal's staff which he had intended for the husband of this lady, and further conferred on her the honours and prerogatives which the wives and widows of Marshals enjoyed?—what is to be said of the proposition made on the 26th April, 1814, to the senate by one of its members and supported by several of his colleagues, a proposition which had for its object to declare that General Moreau had merited public

* It is said in Dresden that Napoleon aimed the cannon, which killed Moreau, himself. A small obelisk stands in the field where the French General fell, and an inscription upon it records the event.—R. H. S.

esteem and the gratitude of his country?—of the religious service ordered on the 23th June of the same year in the church of Saint Paul at Paris, with the approbation and at the expense of the king, for Pichegru, Georges, and Moreau, and for the eleven assassins who had perished with Georges?—of the royal decree of the 27th February, 1815, which decreed the erection of statues to Moreau and to Pichegru? Public opinion revolted against such an interpretation of national honour, it would not allow the crimes committed against the country to the profit of a single family to be glorified. The ennoblement of the family of Georges Cadoudal was tolerated, but public honours rendered to these turncoats, who had carried arms against France, were the fruit of an unhallowed policy, insulting and humiliating to the great mass of the nation.

After the letter which informed the Empress of the result of the great battle of Dresden this Princess remained eight days without any news of the Emperor. She was good enough to send me the following letter very early in the morning of September 11th at St. Cloud:

"I send you a letter from the Emperor which I received very late yesterday" (just a minute after I had left the Empress). "I think you will be glad to read it because you share my anxiety. As soon as you have read it be so good as to send it back."

The glorious victory of Dresden was dearly paid for by the succession of reverses which followed, by the defeat which Oudinot, Duke of Reggio, met with at Grossbeeren, by the disaster which the Duc of Tarente, Macdonald, met with at Katzbach, and by the loss of the battle of Dennewitz where Marshal Ney

was commanding. At Grossbeeren and at Dennewitz, Bernadotte had the questionable honour of defeating French soldiers commanded by two of his oldest comrades-in-arms. The reverse which proved most fatal to us was the defeat at Culm where General Vandamme, who had remained behind with a corps of 30,000 men in consequence of some misunderstanding which has never been explained, lost half his troops, 60 pieces of cannon, and fell into the hands of the enemy with General Haxo. Shamefully treated by an ungenerous enemy, the French general was made the butt of the insults of the Russian and Prussian people and soldiers. General Corbineau was fortunate enough to force his way with a corps of cavalry which he commanded and with 12,000 infantry soldiers who were following him, and to be able to come up with the army. General Vandamme's false manœuvre on which the success of the campaign was to depend had a powerful influence on the unhappy issue of events. Unfortunately Napoleon had not the gift of ubiquity and fortune was withdrawing little by little from him, whom she had so often favoured. The sudden illness with which Napoleon was stricken after the victory of Dresden may also be looked upon as the effect of fatality. Just as he was about to enter Pirna in pursuit of the enemy, a passing but violent indisposition, which had probably been caused by the quantity of rain to which he had been exposed, seized suddenly upon Napoleon, whose frequent vomiting gave rise to the fear that he might have been poisoned. This great soul, an emanation from a divine source, yielded to this moment of enfeeblement of his mortal coil, and the Emperor had to be brought back at full speed to

Dresden in a state of absolute mental and physical prostration. The allied army was at that time in such a state of confusion that it has been admitted by the enemies themselves that had it been vigorously pursued it would infallibly have been destroyed. This fatal incident saved it, and all hope of winning peace disappeared. The series of our misfortunes dates from this day—misfortunes which were hurried on by the disaster of the days at Leipzig which brought about the successive desertion of Bavaria, Wurtemberg, and of the Confederate States of the Rhine. Another desertion, if I may use such an expression, which must greatly have affected the Emperor was the spirit of hidden opposition which was to be noticed in several generals of the French army. This inclination to rebel which was but poorly dissimulated dated back from the time of our disasters during the Russian campaign. It developed into more definite resistance when Napoleon announced his bold plan of leaving the road of the Rhine open to the allied troops, manœuvring on their rear, threatening Potsdam and Berlin, which the enemies were leaving unprotected, and of raising the siege of the various fortresses in which we had left garrisons. A manœuvre of the same kind which had been successfully carried out by the great Frederick in the Seven Years' War, promised a good result. Seeing that he would be badly seconded, Napoleon hesitated; moreover, news of the various adhesions to the coalition obliged him to abandon this plan. The positive assurance of the fidelity to the French alliance which had only shortly before been given by the King of Bavaria and his minister to the Emperor had made him hope that this desertion would only take place later on. I have

heard Napoleon complain bitterly of this conduct at a sitting of the Council of State. The King of Bavaria, who was a well-intentioned but easy Prince had been dragged away by the rapidity of the events and by the persuasions of a faction which had at its head the ambitious General Wrède, who had been loaded with kindnesses by the Emperor. On Sept. 27th Napoleon addressed the following letter to the Empress-Regent:—

"MADAME AND DEAR FRIEND,—You will go and preside at the senate and will make the following speech. The Minister of War will make a report and the orators of the council of state will present a senatus consultum for the levy of the conscription. You will go in a gala carriage with all suitable pomp, as is the custom when I go to the legislative body.

"(Signed): NAPOLEON."

"DRESDEN, SEPT. 27th 1813.

"P.S. As the speech had to be written in cypher Duc de Bassano will have it translated, and will send it to the Archchancellor who will hand it to you."

The speech referred to is the one which was published in the *Moniteur* of October 8th. The senatus consultum ordered the levy of 280,000 conscripts, 120,000 of which were to be taken from the soldiers whose service was to begin in 1814 and earlier, and 160,000 of the year 1815. This anticipation of the conscription of two years, which was not a reassuring sign, filled the Empress with sad thoughts. She was anxious about the future. The part which she was to play at the senate also frightened her by its novelty. However her youth, ability, and the modesty of her attitude produced an impression upon the senators. M. de Talleyrand said in the evening as he was going to the

theatrical performance at the court that she had been neither bold, nor timid, and that she had shown dignity, combined with much tact and propriety.

The reverses which followed on the victory of Dresden, and Bavaria's desertion having put it out of the Emperor's power to manœuvre at ease between the Elbe and the Oder, he decided to precede the enemy to Leipzig, where Prince Schwarzenberg's army was also marching. On October 7th, Napoleon left Dresden, which till then had been the centre of his operations, leaving Marshal St. Cyr with an army of twenty-five thousand men in this city, and garrisons in the forts of Magdeburg, Wittenberg and Torgau. The Emperor arrived at Leipzig on October 15th, where he was joined by the King and Queen of Saxony.

On the morrow of his arrival, the allied armies attacked the French army at Wachau. They were defeated and lost twenty thousand men. Poniatowski won his marshal's bâton there. But what was such a loss, however great it may appear, to an enemy which was constantly replacing its tired and defeated soldiers with fresh troops? The Austrian general Meerfeldt, who was taken prisoner in this battle, was sent by Napoleon to the Emperor of Austria, with pacific proposals which were coldly received by the allies.

The enemies renewed the attack on the morrow. In spite of their extreme inferiority in point of numbers, the French troops sustained the fight, thanks to their heroic efforts, with advantage, but the impossibility of turning or breaking into an impenetrable line, formed of an accumulation of three hundred thousand hostile troops protected by more than one thousand cannon, the desertion of the Saxons and the Wurtembergers,

made the scale in which the destinies of France and Europe were being weighed in the balance, turn in favour of the allies.

All military writers have recorded the disasters which marked this bloody day and the morrow. I cannot, however, refrain from speaking, after them, of the shameful incident which marked this day of mourning—*nigro notanda lapillo*—: the desertion to the enemy of an allied army corps, which took place on the field of battle itself, in the heat of the fight, an occurrence unheard of in the history of modern war. In one of those critical moments when everybody rushes to the spot where there is the greatest danger, the Saxons, feigning to follow the general movement, advanced upon the enemy.... but to join it.* It was seen with stupor that the ranks of a foreign army, commanded by a Frenchman—Bernadotte—opened to receive our faithless allies, marching under a flag stained with the vilest treachery. Need it be added, alas, that this Frenchman threatened the general commanding the Saxons with branding, because, with some last traces of decency, the latter hesitated to turn against our troops the cannon which a moment before had been fired in their defence.

The exhaustion of the army and the want of ammunition rendering a fresh battle impossible, the Emperor decided to retreat. He returned to Leipzig to take leave of the King and Queen of Saxony, who begged him to withdraw, lest to so many disasters should be added his capture by the enemy, adjuring him to leave them to their sorrowful fate. Napoleon, moved to

* "You come late, but you come;" was Bernadotte's remark to the Saxon general, on this occasion.—R. H. S.

tears, and kept back by his gratitude for such great devotion, hesitated about separating from them. In the meanwhile the danger of being surrounded by the enemy becoming imminent, the Emperor yielded to the pressing entreaties of his faithful and venerable allies. He bade them farewell and embraced them, assuring them that one day France would discharge her debt towards them, whatever might be the fate to which Providence destined him personally. *

The calamities which accompanied the retreat of the army after the battle at Leipzig, the untimely breaking-down of the Elster bridge, which resulted in the capture of several divisions, and the death of the brave Poniatowski in this river, are well-known matters. The allies, having entered the city of Leipzig, seized upon the King of Saxony and sent him under escort to Berlin, to expiate the crime of his inviolable fidelity to France.

Napoleon fell back on Erfurth with the remnants of his army. The King of Naples took leave of the Emperor there, not without emotion on both sides, for each felt that it was their last farewell. The insinuations which the Austrians had made to King Joachim, at his outposts, had it must be said been listened to with more attention by him than by the venerable King of Saxony. Our army's retreat was effected with fairly good fortune in spite of the numerous partisans who harassed our troops during their march. However, near Hanau, sixty thousand Bavarians and Austrians undertook to bar the way to the French army. General Wrède commanded them. In the ardour of his zeal for the new cause which he had embraced the day

* This prophecy was realized at the Congress of Vienna.

before, this general*—formerly so proud, as he used to say, of the esteem of the first hero of the century—and of the endowment of thirty thousand francs a year which he had received from him—thought to have little difficulty in disposing of a vanquished and retreating army. Success did not justify these ungrateful and culpable hopes. The lion, although sorely wounded, was not yet dead. The victory of the battle of Hanau opened the road back to its frontiers to the French army. The Austro-Bavarians lost more than ten thousand men in this murderous encounter. General Wrède was dangerously wounded there and his son-in-law, Prince d'Oettingen, lost his life.

The Emperor wrote on this occasion to the Empress, the following letter which was intended for publication in the *Moniteur:*

"MADAME AND VERY DEAR WIFE,

"I send you twenty flags taken by our armies at the battles of Wachau, Leipzig and Hanau; it is a homage which I am pleased to render you. I wish you to consider it as a proof of my great satisfaction with your conduct during the regency which I entrusted to you. This letter having no other purpose, I pray God that He may have you in His holy and worthy keeping.

"(Signed) NAPOLEON."

"Given at FRANKFORT, NOVEMBER 1st, 1813."

These trophies were a very poor compensation for the losses experienced by our armies in this disastrous

*Is not Méneval rather severe on General Wrède, who, of course, was obliged to obey the orders of his master, the King of Bavaria? It is true on the other hand that he had received favours from Napoleon, at the time when he was under the Emperor's orders, but he had fully merited these by his brilliant conduct at Abensberg, Wagram, and in the Russian campaign.—R. H. S.

campaign; but they threw a last lustre on our arms, which Fortune, if not Glory, was preparing to abandon.

The Emperor followed the letter which I have just quoted very closely. He arrived at Mayence on the morrow and the remnants of the army crossed the Rhine here. He only remained the time necessary to make the first arrangements for the defence of our frontiers, which were menaced by the coalition and by the entire forces of Germany, which only shortly before had been assembled under the French flag. After having given the most urgent orders for the re-organization of the army, Napoleon left for St. Cloud, and arrived there on November 9th.

CHAPTER III.

Extraordinary Efforts for Recruiting the Army—The Tuileries Treasure is Used for These Expenses—Violation of the Capitulations of the French Garrisons Left in Dresden and in the Forts in Germany—Bad State of Affairs in Spain—Ferdinand VII. Sent Back to Madrid—Engagement Taken by This Prince—End of the Expedition to Spain—The Emperor's Brothers Assembled in Paris—The Pope is Sent Back to Rome—Intrigues of Every Kind on the Part of the Allies—The Frankfort Proposal—The Duc de Vicence Replaces M. de Bassano at the Ministry of Exterior Relations—Changes in the Ministry—M. Molé—Opening of the Legislative Session—Committee of the Address—Adjournment of the Legislative Body—Violation of Switzerland's Neutrality—The Duc de Vicence is Sent to the Head-Quarters of the Allied Armies—Exchange of Letters Between the Empress and her Father—Desertion of the King of Naples—The Emperor Entrusts his Wife and his Son to the National Guard—He Leaves for the Army—Address by the Empress to the National Guard—Their Answer—Battle of la Rothière—Alarm in Paris—Extracts from the Correspondence Between King Joseph and the Emperor—Plan of Ordering the Army in Italy to March Upon Geneva—This Plan is Not Carried Out—King Joseph's Noble Sentiments—Letter from the Emperor Concerning King Murat—Opening of the Congress at Châtillon—Pretensions of the Allies—The Emperor's Sentiments—Victories at Champaubert, Montmirail, and Vauxchamps—Letter from the Emperor Referring to a Request for a Suspension of Hostilities Made by Prince Schwarzenberg—Napoleon Writes to the Emperor of Austria—This Prince's Reply—Renewal of the Proposal of an Armistice—Short Conferences on this Subject at Lusigny—Retrograde Movement of the Allied Forces to the Rhine—Soissons Surrendered to the Prussian Army—The Allies Recover from Their Alarm—Resumption of Negotiations at the Congress of Châtillon Which had been Suspended—Treaty of Chaumont—The Allies' Proposals Communicated to the Privy Council in Paris—Generals Lacuée and Dejean—General Dejean's Fine Character—The Emperor's Plan of Attacking the Rear of the Allies—Battle of Craonne—Re-occupation of Rheims—Retrograde Movement of the French Army After the Battle of Laon—The Emperor Complains of the Mayors and Citizens who Discourage the Resistance—The Operations of the French Army Drive the Allies to a Fresh Retreat—Communications from Royalists in Paris to the Châtillon Congress—Prince de Bénévent and Duc de Dalberg—March of the Allies on Paris—The Emperor Carries out his Plan of Attacking the Allies in the Rear—Sudden Dissolution of the Châtillon Congress—Attempts to Detach Bernadotte from the Alliance—Means Employed to Excite Public Opinion in Paris—Defeat of General York's Prussian Corps—Movement of the French Army upon Saint-Dizier—The Fear Lest the Allies Should Occupy His Capital Brings the Emperor Back to Paris—Confidential Letter Carried to the Emperor of Austria by M. de Wessemberg—The Emperor's Letter to the Empress is Intercepted by Blücher—Hidden Intrigues in Paris to Force the Emperor to Abdicate—Others Tending to Recall the Bourbons—The Emperor Sounded on the Point of Advising him to Conclude Peace—Reason of the Discontent Which He Expresses on this Subject—The Enemy's Scouts at the Gates of Paris—Delay in Carrying out the Works of Fortification Which had been Undertaken—Napoleon's Letter of March 16th—

Privy Council, Which After Reading This Letter, Decides that the Empress must Depart—This Princess's Refusal to Assume the Responsibility of Remaining in Paris—Departure on the Morrow in the Midst of the Gloomy Silence of a Few Sightseers—The King of Rome's Refusal to Leave his Rooms—Courage of the National Guard and the Pupils of the Polytechnic School—Marshal Marmont is Authorized to Capitulate—King Joseph's Departure from Paris.

THE pleasure of seeing his wife and son again was balm upon Napoleon's wounds, and it was only a momentary diversion from all the cares with which he was besieged. Every moment of his time was taken up by the necessity of providing for the defence of the territory. Councils of administration presided over by the Emperor were held every hour in the day. Extraordinary efforts were made to recruit the army, to remount the artillery, manufacture arms, and so on. The treasure which had been amassed during ten years in the cellars in the Tuileries was employed to meet this extraordinary expense. This treasure was the product of the fourteen million francs annual savings realized on the funds of the Civil list, a circumstance which had not prevented the Imperial court from being the most splendid in Europe. Such was the result of a well-regulated administration free from abuses.

On his return to Paris the Emperor heard of the capitulation of Marshal Saint-Cyr's corps which he had left in Dresden. By the terms of this capitulation these troops were to re-enter France, with the engagement taken in their name not to serve against the allies during a period which was fixed. The General in Chief, Schwarzenberg, refused to ratify this clause, making Marshal Saint-Cyr the ridiculous offer to return to Dresden where the French army placed as it was at the moment of the capitulation would be at liberty to recommence the struggle. In consequence the Marshal

remained a prisoner of war with his army corps. This sad example of a violation of plighted faith given by the Austrian General in Chief was followed by the allied sovereigns with regard to the Dantzig garrison. The allied forces refused to ratify the capitulation, which granted the return to France of General Rapp and the French garrison. These honourable victims of the bad faith of our enemies were shut up in the prison at Kiew. The allies also violated the engagements which had been stipulated by them, with regard to our garrisons, at the time of the capitulation of Wittemberg and Torgau. The other forts which were still occupied in Germany fell one after the other into the hands of the enemy. The French garrisons which we had left there would have sufficed to compose a large army.

News from Spain was no better. The Spaniards who had placed the command of their forces in the hands of Lord Wellington, were now no longer fighting for their freedom; they were threatening the territory of France. The Emperor had resigned himself to conclude a treaty with Ferdinand, who had remained a prisoner at Valençay, dated Dec. 11th, 1813—a treaty which sent back to the Spaniards a master who was to avenge the French conqueror. By this treaty Napoleon acknowledged Ferdinand as King of Spain and of the Indies, and undertook to withdraw the French troops from the Spanish territory. The King on his side promised to make the English troops evacuate Spain; prisoners on both sides were to be exchanged. Amongst other stipulations the King of Spain undertook to pay his father King Charles IV. and the Queen, an annual pension of 30,000,000 of reals—

7,500,000 francs. I must not omit to relate, because it is another trait of Ferdinand's character, that whilst this prince was signing the treaty which he had no intention of carrying out, he renewed his request to obtain one of the Emperor's nieces in marriage, the lady whom he asked for being one of King Joseph's daughters.

Marshal Suchet was commissioned to receive King Joseph and the princes of his family on their return from Spain. He had maintained himself in the provinces in the East with brilliant success for a long time. This Marshal was in occupation of Valençay when he received the news of the defeat of Vittoria, and the order to approach the frontiers without abandoning the principal forts, which he left in a good state of defence and provided with garrisons whose total amounted to about 20,000 men. The retreat of the French had begun on July 5th; Marshal Suchet, who had become Duke of Albuféra as a reward for his splendid services, set up his cantonments in the neighbourhood of Barcelona, after having rallied the army in Aragon. He handed over the forts in Aragon and Catalonia to Ferdinand, who undertook by a written covenant to return the French garrisons who might still be there at the earliest possible opportunity; but he did not keep this promise. The violation of his promises and the non-execution of the clause of the Valençay treaty, left Marshal Suchet no other alternative than to recross the Pyrenees.

King Joseph, whom we left re-established in his capital, not having been able to maintain himself there was forced to think of leaving Madrid. The French army in the Peninsula had further been weakened by the loss

of 12,000 men who had received orders to return to France. The disasters which our soldiers had encountered in Russia, published in the fatal twenty-ninth bulletin, hastened on the evacuation of Madrid which this time became definite. Joseph proceeded to Valladolid and Burgos, where he remained for some days on the defensive with an army of about 30,000 men, escorting long columns of equipages of every kind, and the baggage of more than two thousand Spanish families who were following the fortunes of Napoleon's brother. The operations of the enemy's general obliged King Joseph to fall back upon Vittoria; a part of the convoy was sent in the direction of Tolosa. Attacked on June 21st before Vittoria by hostile forces, three times superior in numbers, coming from the left and from the right, King Joseph's army was completely routed, without General Clausel's corps being able to rejoin him. This disastrous day settled the fate of Spain, when however the loss in men was not as great as was to be feared from the obstruction which hampered the movement of the French army; this loss consisted of about 5000 men killed, wounded or prisoners. The enemy lost about as many, but all our war material fell into their hands. The French left a garrison of four thousand men in Pampeluna, and the remnants of our army withdrew to Bayonne. Joseph cast off his empty title of King and went to seek in his fatherland rest, if not oblivion, after a life so alien to the gentleness of his manners and character.

It became necessary to bestow on the army in Spain a leader able to unite its debris, and check the progress of the enemy. The Emperor sent off Marshal Soult, invested with the chief command, at full speed. The Anglo-

Spanish armies could not be checked in their march from the Pyrenees, and Marshal Soult, after having disputed the ground inch by inch was forced to draw back to Bayonne, where the victorious army of the enemy followed him. The battle of Toulouse was violently contested and both armies experienced heavy losses. It remained without any useful result, and was the last act of this great drama.

Thus ended the important expedition to Spain, where, as in the memorable Russian campaign the bravest soldiers in the world commanded by generals educated in a great school, and guided by the most illustrious captain of ancient and modern times, ended in immortal struggles a career of twenty years of glory. These struggles will not be sterile, these bands of veterans nobly fulfilled their task. Marching victoriously through Egypt and the capitals of the continent, from the icy regions of the north, down to the Pillars of Hercules, they scattered broadcast on their way the seeds of civilization, of generous and valiant ideas, which will surely bear their fruits. They displayed a heroism and military virtues which will serve as an example and as a lesson to those who shall come after us.

The Emperor's brothers were assembled in Paris, with the exception of Lucien, who remained in Rome, and who did not return to Napoleon until 1815. King Joseph after the Anglo-Spanish armies had crossed the Pyrenees had returned to the fatherland, which he had only quitted to act in conformity with the desires and views of his powerful brother. The King of Westphalia, forced by the insurrection in Germany and by our enemies to abandon his kingdom, had sought refuge in France with Queen

Catherine. The violation of Swiss territory by the allies did not allow the former King Louis of Holland to prolong his stay there. He arrived in Paris on January 1st, 1814, and was coldly received by the Emperor, but he found assistance and protection in France. Still anxious to recover the throne of Holland he had made a fresh application with this in view to the Emperor in the month of March, 1813, and towards the end of September to the authorities in Amsterdam; but Holland was waiting for the allies to lay down the law. The re-establishment of the House of Nassau having destroyed all King Louis's hopes, he resigned himself to forget them, and thought of nothing more than to live in retirement. He was in a deplorable state of health, nearly crippled in all his members, no remedy having been able to check the progress of his disease. King Louis came to Paris with a hope of being able to go and live on his estate at St. Leu, but followed the Empress on her departure from Paris to Blois. When the Bourbons had returned to Paris he took leave of the Empress and of her son and returned to Switzerland whence he afterwards proceeded to Rome. King Joseph also took refuge in Switzerland, and lived there very quietly until the Emperor's return from the Island of Elba. The King of Westphalia returned with his Queen to the States of the King of Wurtemberg, his father-in-law, who treated him like a proscript. He was at Trieste and preparing to make his way to Rome, when the events of March, 1815, recalled him to Paris.

The state of religious affairs and the absence of the sovereign Pontiff from Rome caused an irritation which was to be removed by the return of the Pope to

Rome. *Pourparlers* with this object in view were held at Fontainebleau. This negotiation was entrusted to Countess Brignole, lady in waiting to the Empress and mother of the ambassador of Sardinia to Paris under the Restoration. She is the only woman ever employed by the Emperor in diplomatic negotiations. It is necessary to add that the friendship which bound this lady to Cardinal Consalvi and her relations in Rome, where one of her sons was a prelate, decided the Emperor in his choice, as much as her personal qualities.

In short every effort calculated to remedy our evils or to increase our resources was tried. In the meanwhile however the allied powers were intoxicated with the successes they had gained. They worked Napoleon's pride and misfortunes to their advantage and seemed to sport with his agony. They stirred up the hotbeds of Jacobinism, of national prejudices, of fanaticism, to inflame with their sparks the passions of the peoples of Germany against the man who had extinguished the hatreds and furies of the French Revolution. They blindly hurried on the destruction of the sovereign who had saved the royal houses from the effects of the revolutionary propaganda and who re-assured the thrones by the establishment in France of a political state which resembled the forms of European governments. Napoleon might have appealed against them by calling out a mass levy of the nation; if the great corporations of the state, joining their voices to that of the Emperor in one patriotic thought, had sanctioned this appeal to the nation, France might still have been saved. But to reduce himself to play the part of an adventurer, to put his glory into the lists with evil passions, to resuscitate, by illegal and disturbing mea-

sures, the factions and the anarchy which he had destroyed, to organize, it might be, a civil war, these things Napoleon was not willing to do. He sacrificed to the fear of such great calamities, his crown and the future of his son and of his family; he did not wish to appear in the eyes of posterity as a mere vulgar ambitious man; and the French people, rejecting the vulgar accusation which has been made against Napoleon by the utopians, of having been the enemy of public liberties, has done him justice.

Lying words of peace, dictated by a false semblance of moderation, were transmitted from Frankfort by M. de Saint-Aignan, who had been detained prisoner at Weimar, where he occupied the post of French ambassador. Whilst the ambassadors of Austria, Russia, and England, with whom M. de Saint-Aignan had been put into communication, were appearing desirous of opening out negotiations, the enemy's generals were deciding on the plan of an invasion of France. It suited the allies to show themselves under a pacific exterior, so as better to dupe the French nation and to isolate Napoleon, by pointing him out as a man whose personal ambition was the only obstacle to complete pacification.* The Emperor had however caused M. de Saint-Aignan's proposals to be answered to the effect that he consented to the proposed conditions: France to be limited to her natural frontiers, the Rhine, the Alps and the Pyrenees; Spain to be restored to her former dynasty; Italy, Germany, and

*The Frankfort declaration of Dec. 1st, 1813, and Prince Schwarzenberg's proclamation to the French, which preceded the invasion and contained, *inter alia*, the statement: "We are not making war on France, &c."—R. H. S.

Holland to be re-established in their independence. Napoleon proposed the meeting of a congress at Mannheim to treat on this basis. The Austrian ambassador answered that the two Emperors and the King of Prussia had been pleased with his consent to their proposals, that they transmitted them to the co-allies, and that they accepted the selection of the town of Mannheim. And whilst the allies allowed the Austrian ambassador to dupe Napoleon with the hope of a pacification which was very far from their intentions, they published the declaration of Frankfort, of December 1st, in which they made it public that they were not making war on France, but on the Emperor alone and the preponderance which he had too long exercised beyond the limits of his empire. They protested the most liberal intentions towards France, which they desired to see remain "great, strong and happy," assurances which were as sincere as were their overtures of peace. This was to be seen very soon, when our enemies had accomplished the resolution—about which they had hesitated—of crossing our frontiers. In spite of M. de Metternich's fine promises the Duc de Vicence, who was waiting at the outposts for them to be carried into effect, could not succeed to be admitted to negotiate for peace, and hostilities, which had not been interrupted, were pushed on with new vigour.

On his return to France the Duc de Vicence was appointed Minister of Exterior Relations, replacing the Duc de Bassano, who was, unjustly, supposed to have been sacrificed to the intrigues of the peace party. The real reason of the selection of the Duc de Vicence was the hope that the favour which this minister had enjoyed with the Emperor Alexander, during

his mission to St. Petersburg, would place him in a position to render useful services, and fitted him more than anybody else to bring affairs to a happy termination.

M. de Bassano returned to the Ministry of State Secretaryship. Count Daru passed to the Ministry of War Administration, which had been left vacant by the retirement of Count Lacuée de Cessac. The Emperor, in appointing a successor to this honest and rigid administrator, endowed with the same qualities, considered Monsieur Daru more accustomed to the prompt despatch of business and the details of so vast an administration.

The Duc de Massa—Régnier—who needed rest on account of his bad state of health, ceded the Ministry of Justice definitely to Count Molé, who had been directing it in his place since the preceding month of June. His name, one of the most illustrious in the magistracy, and his familiarity with hard work, which was proved by a book of real value which M. Molé had published at the age of twenty-five, had attracted the Emperor's attention. The young author of the "*Essai de Morale et de Politique*", was included in the first list of auditors, created in 1806, and was rapidly promoted to the posts of prefect, councillor of state, and director-general of the department of bridges and highways. Napoleon liked M. Molé very much and treated him with a kindness which the latter returned with a great devotion. On his return from the Island of Elba, the Emperor proposed the Ministry of Exterior Relations and then the Ministry of the Interior to M. Molé, which the former Grand Judge refused to accept, believing himself, it is said, bound

by the oath which he had taken to the re-established monarchy. Although personally I must regret that M. Molé refused the Emperor the assistance of his talents under such grave circumstances, his scruples in any case are worthy of praise rather than of blame. What cannot be denied to Count Molé is a loyal heart and a distinguished intelligence. He showed great wisdom and no ordinary capacity in the administration of business. His honourable character won for him general esteem and respect.

The Emperor opened the legislative session on December 19th, 1813; his words to the representatives of the nation were noble and touching. The deputies appointed a committee to draw up the address. The answer of the Legislative body was bound to have great weight not only on public opinion but also on the intentions of the allies. Napoleon, trusting to the patriotic feelings of the majority of this assembly, wished the committee to be composed of men not dependent on the government. And, as a matter of fact, men who were strangers to public functions were chosen, men devoted to the study of literature and laws, but who thought less of serving the interests of the country than of parading their independence; the royalists' way of thinking even found echoes amongst them. The deputies who composed this committee were MM. Lainé, barrister at Bordeaux*; Raynouard, author of the tragedy "*Les Templiers*"; Gallois, a former

* Described by Napoleon in his famous tirade to the Legislative Body as "a bad man, who is in communication with the Bourbons through Desèze, the barrister." Napoleon added that it was his intention to keep "his eye on him, and on all those open to the suspicion of being engaged in guilty intrigues."—R. H. S.

tribune; Flaugergues, a barrister at Toulouse, and Maine de Biran, a former "*garde-du-corps*", a man who was generally respected, but who did not understand the situation in which France and the Emperor were placed at that time. M. Gallois drew up a report. Napoleon had accused M. Lainé of having been in secret intelligence with the English government with a view of restoring the Bourbons. I know that he had very strong suspicions in the matter. M. Lainé himself undertook to justify the accusation brought against him. M. Raynouard attracted attention to himself by his violence. His tragedy called "*Les États du Blois*" which had been performed in 1810 at the theatre at St. Cloud, and also his tragedy "*Les Templiers*", had been severely judged by the Emperor. The poet's self-esteem is very touchy. Might not one think that M. Raynouard was influenced in this matter by his recollection of the way in which Napoleon had criticized his plays? Instead of calling upon the nation to unite itself closely to its Chief the commission, whilst agreeing that an energetic defence was necessary to obtain peace, complained about the oppression of the people, asked for guarantees against arbitrary power, and demanded the execution of laws favourable to liberty and to the free exercise of political rights. These remonstrances which would have been admissible at any other time but which were most untimely then constituted a bill of indictment against a man in whose power alone it lay to save the state; they discredited him in the eyes of Europe and of the nation, the nation which had to be called to arms to defend an invaded territory. In the same way the Greeks were busy with religious squabbles, when the battering-ram of Mahomet II.

was already dashing against the doors of Constantinople. The legislative body adopted the report of the committee by a large majority. A proof of this report having been carried to the Emperor he summoned a Privy Council at the instance of which the violent measure of dissolving the legislative body was adopted. Since there was no means of coming to an understanding this measure imposed itself.* The legislative body instead of being a lever became a club in the hands of the intriguing ringleaders. In my audiences in the evening with the Emperor, rendered deeply anxious by the spirit of opposition which took advantage of his adversity to crush him at the very time when he stood in need of help, he used to ask me what the Empress thought of this struggle so new for this princess, and the measure which had been its consequence. I must mention that I used to see the Emperor with the same intimacy as in the past. I found him careworn although he did his best to master his anxiety. But in public his face was calm and re-assured. In our conversations he used to complain of feeling tired of war and of not being able to endure horse-exercise any more. He reproached me in jest with having fine times, whilst he painfully dragged his plough—such was his expression; in one word, he felt that he was no longer happy. One could not help looking at him with melancholy interest, and seeing Napoleon unhappy my veneration for him increased.

The enemy crossed the Rhine on the last day of

*Compare Thiers' account of and criticism on Napoleon's violent speech to the Legislative Body on Jan. 1st, 1814. It presents the conduct of the deputies in a very different light.—R. H. S.

1813. The allied armies had hesitated a long while; the prestige of glory still covered our frontiers, besides, a divergence of the political interests of the various powers divided them on the great question of an invasion of France. The promptings and the encouragements of conspirators in the interior of the country made them waver without deciding them. What at last put a stop to their hesitations was an offer which was made to them of a passage through Switzerland. The oligarchical party in Berne, which before the act of mediation had asked for Austria's intervention in the interior affairs of Switzerland, was raising its head again. This party encouraged by Baron Senft de Pilsach who was a turn-coat from the Saxon military service, proposed to Prince Schwarzenberg who had become commander-in-chief of the allied armies to surrender him the way through the valleys. Switzerland, heedless of her independence and forgetting the benefits which she had derived from the act of mediation, allowed her neutrality to be violated, a neutrality the inviolability of which the Diet had only just solemnly proclaimed. She thus opened the way to the allied forces, who were in this way able to cross our frontiers without hindrance, for France reposing too great confidence in the good faith of Switzerland had neglected to fortify them on that side.

Five days after the adjournment of the legislative council, January 4th, 1814, the Emperor sent the Duc de Vicence to the head-quarters of the allies with instructions, which have been made public, and which show Napoleon's desire for peace. It was said in these instructions that if fortune betrayed him his mind was made up, that he did not care for the throne,

and that he would leave it rather than submit to shameful conditions. The Duc de Vicence who was detained a fortnight at Lunéville at last obtained an invitation to proceed to Châtillon, where Lord Castlereagh had just arrived. A sham congress was to be assembled there at the same time that the armies of the enemy were pursuing their march onward in the French provinces. The Empress Marie Louise kept up a vigorous correspondence with her father. She used to receive from him nothing but assurances of interest and repeated promises that he would never sacrifice, whatever might happen, the cause either of his daughter or of his grandson. Such however was not the intention of the coalition. As a general rule the sovereigns personally were not at all hostile towards the Emperor, they were influenced and even dominated by the ascendency which England and the high aristocracy of Europe exercised on their cabinets and on the leaders of their armies. Napoleon used to say at St. Helena that democracy was violent, but that one could come to an understanding with it, that the aristocracy, on the other hand, was cold and implacable and never surrendered.

Napoleon having realized in six weeks all that will, energy of character, and superhuman activity could create in the way of resources, he could no longer put off his departure for the army. On January 23rd, two days before his departure, the Emperor assembled the officers of the legions of the National Guard in the Tuileries Palace, and presenting the Empress and the King of Rome to them he said: "I am going to fight the enemy. I entrust to you what I have dearest—

the Empress, my wife, and the King of Rome, my son." He confirmed the Empress's Regency with fresh letters patent and left on the 24th, after having embraced his wife and his son whom he was never to see again. Before leaving this palace which he quitted full of care and at the same time full of hope, Napoleon had the sorrow of hearing that Joachim Murat the King of Naples, his brother-in-law, had declared himself in favour of the allies in treaties signed with Austria and England, and was marching with a Neapolitan army against the French troops under the command of Prince Eugene. I will not speak at any length on the sad consequences which this fatal error had for Napoleon's political and military arrangements, although the war between Eugene and Murat was limited to an exchange of proclamations. My respect for the memory of the valiant and unfortunate King of Naples, and the bitterness of my regrets, invite me to keep silence. I know that King Joachim had a terrible struggle with himself before coming to so fatal a decision. He flattered himself that having taken this extreme step he would be able to reserve himself the means of serving the Emperor in the future. He was very far from thinking that this enterprise would lead him very shortly afterwards to the loss of his throne and of his life.

On the morrow of Napoleon's departure to the army, a deputation of the National Guard with Marshal Moncey, assistant-Major-General, who was commanding it in the Emperor's absence, at its head, was presented to the Empress Regent by Cambacérès, the Archchancellor. Marshal Moncey read out an address in answer to the words which the Emperor had addressed to the officers

of the National Guard, which we have quoted higher up. Very late on the same day I had received the following letter from the Empress:—

"I want you to come to me rather earlier to-morrow. There is nothing less to do than to write an answer to the speech of the National Guard. I hope that your advice will help me to make a fine speech as I am totally lacking in ideas for the time being. I beg you to believe in all the sentiments with which I am your very affectionate

"LOUISE."

I went to the Empress very early on the morrow, and, under her eyes, wrote the following answer to the deputation of the National Guard:

"GENTLEMEN, OFFICERS OF THE GUARD, I am deeply touched by the sentiments which you have just expressed, and am happy to have to transmit them to the Emperor. In the midst of the anxieties and cares of every kind with which he is surrounded his heart will be flattered with the new assurance of fidelity and devotion of which the National Guard of Paris has so often given him proofs. The Emperor, in placing me and my son in your midst fulfilled a wish which was dear to me. My confidence in the good inhabitants of Paris is entire. The proofs of affection which I have received from them are pledges of what I may expect. Present circumstances would be very fitting to tighten the bonds which attach me to them, had not our sentiments and our interests been made one long ago, were not my cause inseparable from those of all the French."

Marie Louise, who felt the necessity of winning the confidence and interest of the people of Paris in provision of events which might bring the enemies to the gates of the capital, adopted this answer, but she was

obliged to submit it to the approval of the Archchancellor, who was the first councillor of the Regency. The Archchancellor did not find it sufficiently dignified. It also seemed to him too personal. He contented himself with making the Empress say that she had shared the sentiments expressed by the Emperor in his speech to the National Guard, that like him she had entire confidence in the courage, the devotion, and the fidelity of the officers of this guard, and that she would give orders that their address should be transmitted without delay to the Emperor. The Empress told him that she feared this answer might be found rather cold; the national guard was full of such a spirit of patriotism that it never failed in its duty in the moment of danger. I have quoted this fact because it is a proof of the good-will and the praiseworthy sentiments which at this time animated the Empress Marie Louise.

The territory was invaded, the Emperor had marked the commencement of his immortal campaign in France with the glorious battle of Brienne, but attacked afterwards by forces three times superior in numbers, he had just lost the battle of La Rothière. It was feared in Paris that the enemy would be seen before our walls; and so great was the alarm that for a moment the question was discussed whether or not the great city should be evacuated. The Emperor himself was troubled by the prospect of this danger, and of the critical circumstances in which the Empress-Regent's Government and the Cabinet of the Empire might find themselves involved. Several letters were addressed by him from the army to his brother Joseph. As these letters are well known

to-day, and have appeared in various publications, we will only quote here those which seem to us of most interest. On Feb. 8th the Emperor wrote the following letter from Nogent to his brother:

"NOGENT SUR SEINE, FEB. 8th 1814.

"MY BROTHER,

"Hand this letter into the Empress Josephine's own hands. I write to her that she should write to Eugene. Tell her to send you the letter she writes, and send it off at once by estafette.

"Your affectionate Brother
"NAPOLEON."

King Joseph answered the Emperor on Feb. 10th, and informed him that the Empress Josephine's letter to Eugene had been sent off by estafette, and that this letter had been as pressing at it could be. This letter referred to the order given to Prince Eugene to march with his army to Geneva to join Marshal Augereau. If subsequent events, notably what was going on in Naples, had not obliged the Emperor to renounce this movement, the consequences might have been most important. The entrance of Prince Eugene and his troops on French territory would indeed have given fresh and fruitful activity to the military operations which were so feebly directed by Augereau on this side. The imminence of the danger which was menacing Italy, in consequence of the desertion of the King of Naples, caused the Emperor intense anxiety and he wrote the following letter to King Joseph:

"TROYES, FEB. 26th, 1814.

"MY BROTHER,

"It appears that the allies have not yet ratified the King of Naples' treaty. I wish you to send one of your people

to proceed with all haste to the King, that you should write to him in a very plain-spoken manner on the iniquity of his conduct, offering to be his intermediary to bring him back again, and that this is the only thing that remains for him to do or else his ruin is certain, either at the hands of France or of the allies. I need not remind you here all that you can say to him. The English themselves do not acknowledge him as king. It is not too late to save Italy and replace the viceroy on the Adige. Write also to the Queen of her ingratitude, which nothing can justify and which disgusts even the allies .... write that as no battle has yet taken place between the French and Neapolitan troops all can yet be arranged, but that there is not a moment to be lost. Senator Fouché is still in these cantons. You might write to him to deal with these matters with the person whom you will send.

"(Signed): NAPOLEON."

This episode which relates to King Joachim, must not delay me any longer in the chronological recital of the events of this sad year, 1814. In these times of trouble and anguish King Joseph's prudence and firmness were not wanting to Napoleon, as is proved by the following letter, full of energetic sentiments and a noble resignation.

Letter from Joseph to Napoleon:

"PARIS, FEBRUARY 9th., at 11 o'clock in the morning.

"SIRE,

"I receive a letter from the Minister of War, and send your Majesty the original copy. You will see that our resources in rifles are reduced to six thousand and that it is consequently impossible to hope for a reserve army of from thirty to forty thousand men in Paris. Events are stronger than men, Sire, and when that is established it appears to me that it is true glory to preserve what one can obtain. It is

not glorious to expose a precious life to a too evident danger, since it is not advantageous for a great number of men who have attached their existences to yours.... Nobody here has anything to do, either directly or indirectly, with what I am writing to your Majesty, with entire freedom of speech, just as it strikes my mind.

"You must submit to fate with courage, whether fate allows you to hope to be able to cause the happiness of a great number of men, or that it forces you to commit yourself, giving you no choice except between death and dishonour, and I see no dishonour for Your Majesty, as things stand, except in abandoning the throne, because such an abandonment would cause the misfortune of a large number of people who have staked their all on you. If then you can make peace, make it at any price. If you cannot, you must perish like the last Emperor of Constantinople; there is a splendid end for you!—In this case your Majesty can be assured, that in all and for all, I will obey your behests, and that I shall never do anything unworthy either of You or of myself.

"JOSEPH."

Whilst the military operations were following their course, the congress opened at Châtillon-sur-Seine. On February 7th the allies, full of pride at the success which they had gained at La Rothière, disavowed the bases which they themselves had proposed at Frankfort, which the Emperor had accepted and which assigned her natural frontiers to France. They demanded that she should return to the limits which had bounded her before 1792, that she should renounce all sovereignty or protectorate in Italy, Germany and Switzerland. The Duc de Vicence, already on February 5th had full powers for signing peace. Napoleon in vesting him with unlimited powers, was not aware of the new pretensions of the allies. The Duc de Vicence

did not think that he could take upon himself to make use of his full powers. He informed the Emperor of the communication which had been made to him. Napoleon declared that he was unable to leave France smaller than he had received her in 1800; that he would not purchase the conservation of his crown with a degrading treaty, and that he would abdicate if the nation did not support him. The Duc de Bassano and the Prince de Wagram implored the Emperor to yield to necessity. Napoleon consented to close his eyes, but refused to dictate himself the conditions of his humiliation, or to consecrate, by an order signed with his own hand, the degradation of France. He did not however revoke the unlimited powers which he had given to the Duc de Vicence. The latter fulfilled the painful part with which he was charged at the congress, with courage and devotion. He resigned himself in consequence to the hard condition of the former boundaries, but demanded that hostilities should cease at once. For all answer the ambassadors of the allies, satisfied at having obtained this concession, brusquely suspended the conferences. They alleged that they needed fresh instructions. They feared that perhaps they had not exacted enough. Considering no doubt that France had not fallen low enough, they thought to inflict a still crueller degradation upon her.

Napoleon hoping for nothing more from such enemies, far from allowing himself to be cast down by their exactions, found in the resources of his genius one of those heroic manœuvres which were familiar to him, with the result that he won the battles of Champaubert, Montmirail and Vauxchamps, besides several combats which filled the allied forces with terror. Their

plenipotentiaries made haste to have recourse to their usual tactics. They renewed the fallacious proposal of an armistice. This is the letter which Napoleon wrote to his brother Joseph on this subject:

"NANGIS, FEBRUARY 18th, 1814.

"MY BROTHER,

"Prince Schwarzenberg has at last given signs of life. He has just sent a flag of truce to ask for a suspension of hostilities.

"It is difficult to be cowardly to this degree. He had constantly refused, and in the most insulting terms, any kind of suspension of arms or armistice, and even to receive my flags of truce, after the capitulation of Dantzig and of Dresden, a horrible thing of which but few examples can be found in history. At the first shock these wretches fall down on their knees. Fortunately Prince Schwarzenberg's aide-de-camp was not allowed to enter; I only received his letter, which I shall answer at leisure. I shall grant no truce till they have quitted our territory. According to the news in my possession all has changed amongst the allies. The Emperor of Russia, who a few days ago had broken off negotiations, because he wished to inflict worse conditions on France than that of the former frontiers, is anxious to resume them; and I hope very shortly to conclude peace on the Frankfort basis, which is the minimum of peace with honour that I can conclude. Before commencing my operations, I had offered them to sign for peace on the condition of the former limits, provided they should immediately cease fighting. This demand was made by the Duc de Vicence on the 8th. They answered negatively, saying that the signature of the preliminaries would not put a stop to hostilities, and that this could only take place when all the clauses of the treaty of peace had been signed. This inconceivable answer was punished and yesterday, the 17th, they asked me for an armistice. You can imagine that seeing myself on the eve of a battle in which

I was decided to conquer or to die, and in which if I yielded, my capital would have been lost, I would have consented to anything to avoid so great a risk. I owed this sacrifice of my self-respect, to my people and to my family. But, since they refused, since the hazard of the battle was played and that all has returned to the chances of an ordinary war, where the result of a single battle can no longer menace my capital, when all possible chances are in my favour, I owe it to the interests of the Empire and to my glory to negotiate for a real peace. If I had signed peace on the condition of the former limits, I should have rushed to arms two years later; and I should have told the nation that it was not peace but a capitulation that I had signed. I could not say so, under the new state of things, since, fortune having returned to my side, I am master of my conditions. The enemy is in a very different position from the one in which it was placed when the Frankfort treaty was proposed and pretty well assured that it will bring few of its soldiers back over our frontiers. Its cavalry is nearly worn-out; its infantry is exhausted by all these marches and counter-marches. In one word it is completely discouraged. I accordingly hope to be able to conclude a peace, such as should satisfy any reasonable man, and my wishes do not extend beyond the proposals made at Frankfort.

"(Signed): NAPOLEON."

The mission of Prince Schwarzenberg's aide-de-camp, sent with a flag of truce, prompted Napoleon to write directly to the Emperor of Austria to express the desire that negotiations might take a more conciliatory turn and might lead to a speedy signing of the peace. The victories of Nangis and Montereau gave Napoleon fresh hopes.

In the meanwhile, the conferences had recommenced on February 17th, at Châtillon. On the same day the

Emperor had revoked the unlimited powers which he had granted to the Duc de Vicence, the victory of the French armies having apparently modified the respective positions of the enemies. But Lord Castlereagh had just arrived and was present at the congress. The object of the first *pourparlers* was the resumption of negotiations on the basis of a restitution by France of all the territory which she had acquired since 1792, a restitution in which the surrender of Antwerp, England's *sine quâ non*, was formulated. At the same time the allies demanded that certain fortified towns in the interior of France should be surrendered to them; they founded their pretensions on the concession made by the French plenipotentiary, at the time of the suspension of the congress, on February 9th.

On the 23rd, Prince Wenzel-Lichtenstein brought back the Emperor of Austria's answer to Napoleon's letter. The terms of this answer were conciliatory. Prince Lichtenstein protested that the allies had no evil intentions either against the dynasty or against the Emperor's person. Even had this not been the case the Emperor of Austria's envoy declared that Austria would never lend herself to such manœuvres, that all she sincerely desired was peace. This power had, as a matter of fact, very much less interest in a continuation of the war than the others. The principal object of her ambition was fulfilled, since she recovered Italy and her influence in Germany. Prince Lichtenstein renewed the proposal of an armistice which, in his ardent desire for peace, Napoleon decided to accept.

The allies, discouraged by a series of defeats, had decided upon a retreat which almost became a disaster, in proportion as the accumulation of their masses of

troops in the outlets gave rise to greater encumbrance and disorder. A terrible panic seemed to have struck Prince Schwarzenberg's great army, the columns of which, dragged on by the fugitives and by streams of equipages, retrograded with all speed towards the Rhine.

Napoleon, having returned to Troyes, made his arrangements for manœuvring on the rear of the army commanded by Blücher, who tempted by the numerical inferiority of the corps of the Marshals Mortier and Marmont was advancing in a foolhardy way upon Meaux, whilst Prince Schwarzenberg was continuing his retrograde movement.

Napoleon's letter to his brother Joseph:

"TROYES, FEBRUARY 24th, 1814, 7 a.m.

"MY BROTHER,

"I have entered Troyes. The army of the enemy are besieging me with flags of truce to ask me for a suspension of arms. A truce will perhaps be negotiated this morning; but that can only be on the condition that the Châtillon negotiations are pursued on the basis of the Frankfort proposals.

"The Minister of the Interior is a "funk," * he has a very wild idea about men: neither he, nor the Minister of Police have any more notion about France than I have about China.

"N."

Letter from King Joseph to the Emperor:

"PARIS, FEBRUARY 25th, 9 p.m.

"SIRE,

"I have had occasion to see the Ministers to-day in the council which was held by the Empress. I spoke to them of Your Majesty's successes and of your hopes. The Minister

* "*Un trembleur*" in the original.—R. H. S.

of the Interior is working hard on the lines marked out by you. A council will be held to-morrow.

"M. de Montalivet is very zealous in your Majesty's service.

"J."

The Emperor flattered himself or pretended to flatter himself that the resumption of negotiations would have a successful issue. He wrote from Troyes, on February 26th, at six in the evening:

"In the meanwhile the congress is in our hands; which proves that all the enemy's calculations have been upset. Lord Castlereagh has asked if his person will be in safety, in view of the fact that he has no official position as ambassador. That of course cannot be questioned. Anybody touching the congress, either directly or indirectly, is under the protection of international law.

"N."

The demand for an armistice had been made at a time when the Emperor's rapid movements and his unexpected successes had filled the allies with discouragement. Having got over this first impression, and the Russian and English plenipotentiaries predominating at the congress, they broke off the conferences at Lusigny under the pretext that Napoleon was mixing up with the military question points of discussion which were within the scope of the Châtillon congress. These conferences had not lasted more than four days.

In the meanwhile the only retreat open to the Silesian army, under the command of Blücher, was by Soissons. The French army occupied the roads by which the Prussian general was forced to pass. If Blücher did not succeed in forcing his way through Soissons, his position, driven as he was into a corner against the Aisne river, would become extremely

critical. Soissons had been put into a good state of defence and was provided with a garrison of 1500 men, but the incapacity of the general in command threw it into the hands of the enemy. Not understanding the importance of the fortress which he was charged to defend, he capitulated on the morrow of the day on which the enemy presented itself before Soissons, satisfied with obtaining that his garrison should not be taken prisoners of war. It was in this wise that Blücher in the night of March 3rd, was able to cross the river with the whole of his army, and join forces which brought the total number of the soldiers with whom we had to fight to one hundred thousand.

The unexpected surrender of Soissons upset the Emperor's plans and had a fatal influence on the issue of the campaign. This success raised the courage of the allies, who re-assured by their immense numerical superiority passed from a state of depression to one of exceeding confidence. Their shame at flight, the dangers to which numerous armies marching with their sovereigns at their head, across a country in a state of insurrection and ready to bar the way of their return to the Rhine, without stores and without ammunition, other than those in the train of the regiments, and finally the encouragement which they received from Paris, determined them to cease their retrograde movement. They had succeeded in duping their adversary with sham negotiations and in winning time.

The allies far from reducing their pretensions, had accordingly come to the opinion that they would have every advantage in persisting in their claims. They saw that the successes obtained by Napoleon,

which were owing to the heroism of a handful of heroes who were not supported, cost the victor dearly, and that these successes themselves served but to weaken him. The four great powers signed a treaty at Chaumont on March 1st, by which they allied themselves still closer. They engaged in consequence to act on the offensive and not to treat separately. They invited the other powers to join them and exerted extraordinary efforts to realize their object, which was to overthrow the Emperor. England furnished fresh subsidies.

On March 2nd, King Joseph received the following letter from the Emperor:

"JOUARRE, MARCH 2nd, 1814.

"MY BROTHER,

"I desire you on receiving this letter to assemble under the presidency of the Regent, the great dignitaries, my ministers and the presidents of the Council of State, and to read to them, the note containing the proposals of the allies, my letter to the Emperor of Austria, Prince Schwarzenberg's despatch to the major-general, and the draft of the note which I have just dictated to be handed by the Duc de Vicence to the Congress: in one word, all the papers which explain the state of affairs. The Duc de Cadore will record what each one says. I do not want formal opinions, but I shall be glad to know each person's way of thinking."

King Joseph answered this letter as follows:—

"PARIS, MARCH 4th, 1814.

"SIRE,

"The Empress held the extraordinary council, which Your Majesty commanded, to-day. I ordered the papers which had been sent to me to be read. All the members of this council seem to share the same opinion. They found the

enemies' proposals very unjust, and they showed absolute confidence in whatever Your Majesty might order to your plenipotentiaries, so that France might enter into immediate enjoyment of the immense sacrifices which are demanded of you, and which we well know will only be granted by Your Majesty in the last extremity. You, better than anybody else are judge of that. But, with fairly general unanimity, we are united in thinking the necessity of seeing France reduced to the territory which she possessed in 1792 should be accepted rather than to allow the capital to be threatened. The occupation of the capital is looked upon as the end of the present order, and the commencement of great misfortunes. Europe, entirely united, wishes to reduce France to what she was in 1792. Let this be the basis of a treaty which is imposed upon us by circumstances, but let the territory be immediately evacuated. In one word, prompt peace, no matter what it may be, is indispensable. It will be a truce for two or three years; but good or bad, peace must be made. The Emperor will make it as little unfavourable as possible. In the present state of things it will always be an advantage, since it will allow the Emperor to occupy himself exclusively with home affairs, and that by good management he will be in a state to take back what has been unjustly demanded of him and which he has wisely accorded. The natural frontiers would be a real benefit for France and for Europe; they would give the hope of long peace, but nobody is forced to do what is impossible. Peace is indispensable to-day, this peace could cease on the day when France would be in a position to demand her rights. Conclude then a truce *in petto* since the injustice of our enemies will not allow you to conclude a just peace, and when the state of things and of public opinion does not allow you to hope from France efforts proportionate to the object which has to be attained. The Emperor of Austria's letter was found full of nobility and good sense. You will remain to France and France will remain to you as she was in the days when she filled

Europe with amazement, and you who saved her once will do so a second time by signing peace to-day, and by saving yourself with her. Be acknowledged by England, deliver France from the Cossacks and the Prussians, and France will render to you one day in blessings that which superficial minds might think you have lost in glory. I notice that I am indulging in too much verbiage. Whether Your Majesty has gained a victory or not you must have peace. This sums up what everybody here thinks and says.

"J."

The Privy Council indeed was unanimously of opinion that peace was the first need of France. The condition however of having to give up, by the occupation of Besançon and our principal fortresses, the key of our frontiers caused some to hesitate. Amongst those who were consulted I may mention M. de Cessac and General Dejean, first inspector of engineers, as having shown the most firmness on this solemn occasion. General Dejean was a noble character, and it is known with what generous indignation he combated in 1815 resolutions tending to submit to laws imposed by the foreigners.* Napoleon had had occasion in 1810 to give this general publicly a high proof of his esteem.

On March 9th, King Joseph congratulated the Emperor on the victory of Craonne, and pressed him in a most eloquent manner to take advantage of this success and to conclude peace. But the victory of Craonne was

*General Dejean was born at Amiens in 1780 and became a general of brigade at 30 years of age. He took an active part in the battles of Ligny and Waterloo, was exiled by the Bourbons from 1815 to 1818, but took service again in 1830. Besides his services, rendered in time of war, he held a foremost position amongst entomologists. He published several works on insects, including a catalogue of his own collection. These works comprise: "*Species Général des Coléoptères*," 1825—1839, 7 vols.; "*Iconographie et histoire naturelle des Coléoptères d'Europe*," 1829.—R. H. S.

balanced by the issue of the battle of Laon, in which the Emperor had to fight against an army which was five times stronger than his own. Napoleon was forced to retreat, to avoid being surrounded by forces so vastly superior. He wrote as follows to King Joseph:

"CHAVIGNON, MARCH 11th, 1814.

"MY BROTHER,

"I have examined the enemies' position. It was too strong to be attacked without incurring great loss. I have accordingly made up my mind to return to Soissons. It was probable that the enemy would have evacuated Laon, for fear of being attacked there, but for the skirmish of the Duc de Raguse, who behaved like a sub-lieutenant. The enemy experienced enormous losses when attacking the village of Clacy, five times yesterday, and was always repulsed. The young guard melts away like snow,* the old guard keeps firm. My mounted guards are also greatly diminished. It is indispensable that General Ornano should take every means to remount all the dragoons and chasseurs, beginning with the veterans. Orders must be given for redouts to be constructed at Montmartre.

"N."

Another letter from Napoleon:—

"SOISSONS, MARCH 13th, 1814.

"MY BROTHER,

"Before beginning the works for the fortification of Paris the plan of these works must be known. The one which was presented to me seems very complicated. What one wants is something very simple. On every side of me I receive complaints of the people against the mayors and leading citizens, who prevent them from defending themselves.

*Napoleon's indifference for the lives of his soldiers was supreme. "What do I care for two hundred thousand men?" he exclaimed in the course of his famous interview with Metternich in Dresden.—K. H. S.

I see the same state of things in Paris. The people has energy and honour. I very much fear there are certain leaders who don't want to fight, and who will be very much dazed after the event at what they have brought upon themselves."

"N."

Another letter from Napoleon:—

"RHEIMS, MARCH 14th, 1814.

"MY BROTHER,

"I arrived yesterday at Rheims which was occupied by the General in Chief, St. Priest, with three Russian divisions and a new Prussian division which came from the blockade of Stettin. I defeated him, recaptured the city, 20 pieces of cannon, a quantity of baggage, and caissons, and made 5000 prisoners. General St. Priest was mortally wounded and has been amputated at the thigh. The thing to be noticed is that St. Priest was wounded by the same gunner who killed General Moreau.* One may exclaim: 'O Providence!'

"N."

Another extract from a letter from the Emperor, dated at:—

"EPERNAY, MARCH 17th, 1814.

"I am expecting great results in my movement which will throw great disorder and great confusion on the rear of my enemy, and its headquarters if it be still at Troyes. The couriers must be sent to me by Ferte-sous-Jourre, and thence to Arcis-sur-Aube by way of Epernay and Montmirail. You must tell the ministers of war and of police not to say anything which is not necessary, and to write anything of importance in cipher until my communications by way of Nogent have been established. Send officers to Soissons, to Compiègne,

*This does away with the Dresden legend that it was Napoleon himself who sighted the cannon which killed Moreau.—R. H. S.

to Rheims, and to Epernay. I have given orders for a division of 12,000 men whom I am bringing from Metz to proceed to Châlons. I do not know whether this order will reach its destination. It would be a great piece of good fortune.

"N."

Another letter from Napoleon:—

"EPERNAY, MARCH 18th, 1814.

„MY BROTHER,

"The whole army is in movement, to pass the night beyond Fère-Champenoise and thence to proceed in the direction of Arcis-sur-Aube, and the enemies' bridges. I am in communication with our garrisons of Verdun and Metz. I am expecting a division of 12,000 men whom I am withdrawing from these forts. It appears that the enemy has left Noyon which clears the ground round Compiègne. The conduct of this commune was perfect."

"N."

The success over General Saint-Priest, the occupation of Rheims, Napoleon's presence in this city and in Epernay had surprised the allies in the midst of their movement, and had thrown them back into a state of indecision which was revealed by a general retreat of their troops. The army of the enemy fell back upon Troyes preceded by its baggage. Paris seemed threatened no longer. The Emperor Alexander sent word, it is stated, to Prince Schwarzenberg in the middle of the night, that he wished a courier to be sent off immediately to Châtillon, with orders to sign peace on the conditions asked for by the French negotiator. The Emperor of Austria had fled in the direction of Dijon, with a single officer and a valet-de-chambre, to place himself in safety. M. de Metternich succeeded in joining him there with some secretaries. They remained there without com-

munications from the outside for a period of thirty hours.

On the eve of evacuating Troyes to continue his retreat, the Emperor Alexander, recovering from his panic, convoked a council of war. At this council he declared with emphasis that he was tired of fleeing before a handful of men, with such formidable armies as were under his command, and that the only means of dictating peace was to march with all the forces of the coalition on Paris. Having countermanded the retreat, the concentration of the two great allied armies was decided upon, and a meeting fixed in the plains of Châlons. The allied forces looked for safety not only in the inertia of a part of the nation, which was being worked upon with magnificent promises with the object of detaching it from Napoleon, but further in the prayers and encouragements of the Royalist committees in Paris, whose communications with the congress of Châtillon had remained permanent. Prince de Bénévent, bound by secret relations with influential persons in the foreign cabinets and courts, was in correspondence with the ministers present at the congress; making ready to profit by events whatever they might be, and redoubling the activity of his intrigues both in Paris and abroad.

Duc Dalberg, whom the Emperor had naturalized a Frenchman but whose heart he had been unable to change, whom he had loaded with kindness, whom he had created a duke and endowed with two hundred thousand francs a year, the relation and friend of Nesselrode and Stadion, the ministers, seconded Prince de Bénévent, with all the zeal which his deep ingratitude could inspire him with. Every day at the Council of State, where he had been placed in the

section of home affairs to which I belonged, as there was no section of exterior relations, he used to bring us desperate tidings; his language was that of a man who was initiated in the plans of the allied forces. Thus when an immense array of hostile forces, seconded by the perfidy of foreign diplomacy, was rendering the glorious efforts of Napoleon and of his army of no avail, treachery at home was noiselessly consummated within the ruin of the imperial edifice.

Simultaneously with their decision of uniting their forces and of marching in one body upon Paris, the allies abandoned their empty show of negotiations. They declared that the congress of Châtillon was closed, taking as a pretext that the French plenipotentiaries based themselves on certain apparent successes of the French army to go back on arrangements which they themselves had proposed. The representatives of the allied powers alleged that there was no possibility of coming to an understanding and imputed the rupture of the negotiations to France. In vain did the Duc de Vicence ask for twenty-four hours grace in which to receive the instructions which he was expecting, instructions which were to authorize him to make what concessions were deemed possible and to discuss further concessions; the ministers of the coalition persisted in considering the negotiations as at an end. They withdrew declaring the congress dissolved, on their own authority, in spite of all the protestations of the French plenipotentiaries. At Châtillon, as at Prague, every way was blocked to freedom of discussion, and that in despite of diplomatic usages and the consideration with which civilized states treat each other. The courier who carried the despatches from the Emperor

to his envoy to the congress, met the Duc de Vicence on the road, on his way back to headquarters. The latter stopped to write to Metternich that he regretted the brusque breaking-off of the negotiations all the more because he had received certain despatches which put him in a position to smooth over many difficulties: a final and useless step, which only proved more clearly how great was our distress and how implacable the ill-will of our enemies.

Joseph Bonaparte had thought of the means of detaching the Prince Royal of Sweden (Bernadotte) from the coalition before the Emperor had told him to attempt to do so. Joseph, Bernadotte's brother-in-law, as is known, retained the feeble hope, that after having betrayed his country and having handed it over to the vengeance of the enemy, this erring son, might, as he set foot upon his native soil, feel some remorse. He thought that the remembrance of their family alliance might contribute to arouse some generous feelings in the heart of an old French soldier who had risen to become a French marshal. King Joseph accordingly sent off Doctor Franzenberg, to his brother-in-law, by the agency of Chiappe, a former *conventionnel*, a mutual friend of the two families, and he succeeded in reaching the Swedish headquarters. This step remained without result, Bernadotte alleging that it was too late. He had engaged himself still further with the coalition, and had rendered them fresh services for which he expected his reward. It appears certain that he had been duped with the hope of succeeding the Emperor Napoleon on the throne of France. M. de Langeron, an *émigré* in the command of a Russian

army corps, declared that he transmitted to the Emperor of Russia intercepted letters which inspired the allies with the fear of seeing Bernadotte lend his ear to overtures coming from Paris, a discovery which had induced the Emperor Alexander to lavish fresh promises and fresh flatteries upon Bernadotte. From that time forward the fatal ambition of the ex-marshal of the Empire knew no limits; rendering him deaf to the promptings of honour and of duty. The Emperor had written to King Joseph from Troyes, on February 25th, as follows:

"It is said that the Prince Royal of Sweden is at Cologne. Could you not, on your own initiative, send somebody to him to make him feel the folly of his conduct and induce him to change it? Try it, but without involving me in any way. "N."

The following is the letter in which King Joseph informed the Emperor of the steps that had been taken, in conformity with the wishes which his brother had expressed to him:

"PARIS, MARCH 13th, 1814.

"SIRE,

"The person whom I sent to the Prince of Sweden returned to-day. He left the prince at Liége on the 10th instant. If Your Majesty wishes to examine him, you have but to give orders to the Prince of Neufchâtel for whom I will give him a letter. If Your Majesty should not desire to see him, he could give military information of some importance on the districts which he had just travelled through.

"The Prince of Sweden speaks frequently and quite openly of the return of the Bourbons. He is temporizing to give you time, as he says, to conclude peace, which he desires, as he wishes to return home. "J."

Letter from the Emperor to King Joseph:

"RHEIMS, MARCH 17th, 1814, noon.

"MY BROTHER, I have seen the officer attached to the Queen, whom you sent me. Amongst good things he tells me many which are false. If you can trust him, I think it would be important to send him a second time, and to send other messengers; would that not give us the advantage of learning what is going on in these provinces?

"Duc de Bassano has written to Count d'Hauterive to hand you a copy of the declaration which was made by the allies at Châtillon, who wanted, being four, to treat for all the other powers. You may communicate this document in a confidential manner to the Prince Royal, pressing him to make efforts to have a minister at the congress. For after all Sweden can have no interest in allowing a *quatrumvirate* to put hands on the whole of Europe. It is for her, as has always been the case, to look after her affairs herself. Before sending this person, be sure that he is no traitor.

"N."

The Emperor had many reasons for being suspicious. But King Joseph's envoy was a loyal man, a good Frenchman who had fulfilled his mission with zeal and fidelity. These communications had no further result and remained fruitless.

The Emperor excited the spirit of resistance in the hearts of the French against these hordes of barbarians which the allies vomited forth on to the centre of civilization, and who committed atrocities surpassing all that can be imagined. He endeavoured to keep men's courage alive by the display of trophies wrested from the enemy. On February 27th the Minister of the Interior had presented the Empress with ten Russian, Prussian, and Austrian flags taken at the battles of

Montmirail and Vauxchamps, and at the encounter at Montereau. These flags, carried by officers of the imperial guard and the national guard, had been brought to Paris by Baron, to-day Duke, de Mortemart, the Emperor's orderly officer.—The papers were filled with reports made by the auditors who had been commissioned to establish and put on record the cruelties and vexations committed by the allies at every place which they had occupied, in spite of the presence of their sovereigns. The Paris municipal council received deputations from the towns in Champagne and Burgundy, who related the misfortunes which these provinces had had to suffer by the foreign occupation. But so great was the weariness with war that these reports did not produce the indignation which might have been expected. At the same time Dupaty's rondos, with the choruses of "Let us guard her well" and "He has gone" were being sung in all the theatres.

In spite of all Paris was filled with alarm. The two letters following from the Empress describe the feelings which agitated the population of Paris sufficiently clearly. On February 12th Marie Louise wrote to me:

"Good news. The Emperor has destroyed York's corps and has taken his material: the rest has got stuck in the cross-roads. The Emperor was to sleep at la Ferté-sous-Jouarre and was in good health. This is what M. Anatole reports to the Archchancellor at half-past three. I hasten to acquaint you of it and beg you to believe in the sentiments of esteem of your very well-affected.

"LOUISE."

On March 27th, she wrote to me:

"I send you back the letter which you lent me this morning, and add to it two petitions which I beg you to send to the

Ministers, adding that I interest myself in them. It appears that our affairs are going so badly on the Duc de Raguse's side that we may very easily receive visitors here very shortly. What a terrible prospect!

"LOUISE."

The Emperor in manœuvring on the flank of the enemy, fell in with Schwarzenberg's army, which was operating a new movement on this side, at Arcis-sur-Aube. After having fought all day against overwhelming masses, after having personally incurred the greatest dangers, and having obstinately sought after death which refused to take him, Napoleon recrossed the Aube in the night. He arrived at Saint-Dizier on the 23rd, where he found the Duc de Vicence, who had returned from Châtillon which he had left on March 20th after the rupture of the congress.

In the critical situation in which he found himself, Napoleon thought of putting into execution the project of which he had spoken to his brother, in his letters of March 2nd and 4th: namely of stopping the enemies' march upon Paris by manœuvring on their rear, a movement which was to allow him to rally the garrisons of the fortresses in Alsace and Lorraine, to organize a formidable insurrection and thus to cut off the communications of the allied armies. Before taking this resolution, which presented some chances of success, and which might if carried out effectually save France, the Emperor wished to procure certain information on the real movement effected by the enemies. With this object in view he sent out strong reconnoitring parties to the lines of operation, and established himself at Doulevent where he spent the 25th awaiting the result of these reconnoitrings. There Napoleon was able to

convince himself how well his apprehensions had been founded; Schwarzenberg and Blücher's immense forces had effected a junction. The Emperor learned that new and pressing advices from the royalists had emboldened the allies, and dissipated their hesitations; and that their armies, taking once more to the road to Paris which they had abandoned, were now in full march upon the capital.

Having heard this news, Napoleon returned to Saint-Dizier where he spent the night in thinking over the advantages of his plan and the disadvantage of exposing Paris, which it was his so anxious desire not to leave to the enemy. The discouragement of the leaders of his army, which had reached the point of disorganisation, the fear of not being seconded or of being badly seconded, the importunities of those who surrounded him, importunities which under different circumstances he would not have tolerated, the news he had of the audacity of the counter-revolutionaries and the lukewarm state of public opinion in Paris, the responsibility of the disasters with which the capital was threatened, so many considerations taken together troubled this mind, generally so firm. A secret advice, transmitted by a sure and loyal man, Count Lavalette, informing the Emperor of the secret intrigues of the royalists and of their communications with the enemy, confirmed Napoleon in his resolution to return at full speed to the rescue of Paris.

Before leaving Saint-Dizier, the Emperor charged M. de Wessemberg, the Austrian envoy in London, with a confidential letter to the Emperor of Austria. M. de Wessemberg had been arrested in company with several civil and military officers belonging to

the enemy by some peasants and had been brought to the imperial headquarters. M. de Vitrolles, charged with a secret mission by the royalists in Paris, happened to be amongst them in disguise but was not recognized. The mission confided to M. de Wessemberg remained without result. The envoy alleged that he had been prevented from reaching the Emperor of Austria, who was sequestrated at Chanceaux, near Dijon.

A vexatious occurrence had aggravated our anxieties at the Tuileries. The Emperor had written to the Empress of his manœuvre in the direction of Saint-Dizier, a manœuvre the object of which was to check the enemy's march upon Paris and to force it to a retrograde movement. Unfortunately this letter fell into the hands of the Prussians. It informed the enemy of the Emperor's plans, and after reading it the Prussians sent it on to the Empress with every mark of respect. The Empress thought it right to keep this disturbing communication secret, but considered it full of dire forebodings.

The vague rumours of the disgust with war which reigned in the French camp and which was said to have reached the pitch of insubordination, which came to our ears at about the same time, were another cause of alarm.

Whilst the women of the royalist party, in the hope of a return of the ancient dynasty, were busying themselves in the most private rooms in their houses in making white cockades, the Empress Marie Louise and the ladies of her court, like the queens and ladies of the Middle Ages, assembled in a large drawing-room in the palace, prepared lint for the wounded.

A hidden fermentation reigned amongst the corporations of State. Indirect insinuations, which were soon followed by more transparent actions, produced themselves with the object of removing Napoleon from power, and of inducing him to abdicate in favour of his son. A member of the Senate went so far as to sound several of his colleagues, amongst others Count de Ségur, who consented to keep the matter secret, on the advisability of inducing a belief in the Emperor's insanity with a view to his suspension. Other intrigues had as a purpose to make use of the foreigners with a view to restoring the Bourbons. The ungrateful Duc Dalberg did not disguise this guilty hope in the very Council of State, where, as I have recorded, he had been placed in extraordinary service.

M. de Talleyrand concealed under the mask of his customary indolence, and under a language which was full of feigned patriotism, the activity of his communications with the enemies at home and abroad. But he took good care, as he always did, not to show himself in anything and to write nothing which might compromise him. Napoleon was not in ignorance of the fact that his enemies at home and abroad were planning to make use of the Senate to proclaim Napoleon II., and that the allies hoped to excite civil war in France by separating the Emperor from his son and family; events justify this supposition. Without thinking that the Bourbons had much chance of success, Napoleon knew that the ringleaders, except those of the Mortfontaine committee, who possessed but little influence, had no other object than to force him to surrender his crown to his son. King Joseph had been sounded on this point by some senators; the general-lieutenantship of

the empire under the Emperor's minority, had been offered to him. The loyalty of Napoleon's brother revolted at the thought. Disturbed by this inner danger he desired that peace should be concluded at no matter what cost. At the end of some work which had been done at the Empress's, King Joseph and the Archchancellor suggested to me that I should express this wish to the Emperor. Before taking the step, I asked to be allowed to inform him of it, for I had a presentiment that it would be very badly received by him. As a matter of fact, I received a letter from Soissons, *written in Napoleon's own hand*,* dated March 12th, at two o'clock in the afternoon, which began with the words:

"I have received your letter; you answered rightly. I shall consider the first address presented to me to ask me for peace as an act of rebellion.

"NAPOLEON."

Napoleon saw very well that if peace were still possible, nothing would be more likely to delay it than a manifestation in its favour on the part of the corporations of state, a manifestation by which the foreigners would not fail to profit to create the belief that there was a misunderstanding between the Emperor and the nation. King Joseph had never thought of making the communication which he had entrusted to the public. His choice of me proved moreover that it was to be quite confidential. At the same time the Emperor had gladly taken advantage of this circumstance to prevent any official application to him in

*A very rare circumstance. This letter was concealed in the hollow of a key, in order to avoid a vexatious discovery.

this direction, in case anybody might have thought of attempting it.

The presence of the scouts of the allied army outside the gates of Paris had driven the inhabitants of the surrounding country into the metropolis and their furniture, provisions and live stock, encumbered the various entrances. Rich families were fleeing in the direction of the Loire. A part of the population of Paris, impelled by a vague anxiety, wandered about the streets, on the squares and boulevards, or hastened to the termini of the country roads or to the heights around the city.

During the last days which preceded the entry of the allies into Paris, pressed with the anxiety by which the minds of all were preyed upon, I used to go very frequently to the office of the general director of the post-office to learn what news there was of the enemy's approach; the news received from French headquarters was rare and not calculated to calm the anxiety. Couriers and persons of every condition, fleeing from the scene of the war, used to come to the general post-office to relate what they had undergone and to seek for the means of communicating with the relations and friends who had remained behind in the towns and country districts which they had just left. I frequently met M. de Bourrienne there, who used to come with a purpose less innocent than mine, but who disguised it under exaggerated demonstrations of zeal for the imperial government. He had every reason to go away with satisfaction, for the news was far from being re-assuring. The enemy did not slacken in its onward march.

The orders which the Emperor had given for the

defence of Paris had been for the most part carried out. The committee of defence had provided for matters of detail. The necessity, however, of conferring with the Emperor, and various obstacles over which his presence and energetic will alone could have triumphed, prevented the necessary extension and perfection from being given to the various works which had been projected.

Nobody ignored the fact that Napoleon, endowed with devouring activity, with a mind rich in resources and an ever sustained power of attention, embraced in his vast genius all the details of the war at the same time as all the branches of his government; that even in the midst of the most active military operations, he found time to occupy himself with home affairs; that his orders always reached his ministers in good time; that he kept himself informed on everything, that everything was under his control and that he thought for everybody. The result was that those who acted for him, whose prudence increased in proportion to the responsibility which weighed upon them, did not dare take any steps on their own authority and awaited his orders instead of acting. Thus the Emperor's absence in these troubled times, paralyzed the zeal which his presence on the contrary would have stimulated in the highest degree.

On March 27th, King Joseph reviewed the national guards, who were incompletely equipped and dressed, and the feeble corps of the Paris garrison made up of depots of the imperial guard. So scarce were arms that part of the national guard had to be armed with lances, which they only used with repugnance. These troops marched past the Empress who was with the

King of Rome. They were filled with the best feelings and full of ardour to defend the capital as well as to protect Marie Louise and the young prince.

The following letter addressed by the Emperor to King Joseph determined the latter, some days later, to hurry on the departure of the Empress and of her son:--

"RHEIMS, MARCH 16th, 1814.

"In conformity with the verbal instructions which I have given you and the spirit of all my letters you must not allow the Empress and the King of Rome to fall into the hands of the enemy, in any case whatever. I am about to manœuvre in such a manner that it may be some days before you receive any news of me. If the enemy advance upon Paris with such forces that all resistance is out of the question, send the Empress-Regent, my son, the great dignitaries, the ministers, the grand officers of the crown, Baron de la Bouillerie and the treasure off in the direction of the Loire. Do not leave my son, and remember that I would rather know him at the bottom of the Seine than in the hands of the enemies of France. The fate of Astyanax, prisoner to the Greeks, always seemed to me the saddest fate that history records.

"Your affectionate brother,
"NAPOLEON."

When the corps of Marshal Marmont and Marshal Mortier, reduced to very small numbers, had been driven back on Paris by imposing forces of the enemy and the capital was menaced, when this danger had been still further aggravated by the Emperor's letter to the Empress falling into the hands of the enemy, King Joseph considered that the case provided for by the Emperor's verbal and written communications in such precise and positive terms, had come into existence;

and he accordingly showed the letter which he had received to the Empress and to Cambacérès. A privy council, composed of the great dignitaries, of the ministers and the president of the Senate, assembled on the evening of March 28th. The Emperor's letter was not at first communicated to the council, to form the text of its deliberations; the question whether the Empress should remain in Paris with her son, or leave it, was alone mooted. The majority of the members of the council, Count Boulay de la Meurthe amongst others, were of opinion that the Empress ought not to leave, that her presence would re-assure the capital, and would impose respect upon the invaders. M. Boulay expressed this opinion and argued with much energy in support thereof. He even proposed that the Empress should go to the Town-Hall and show herself to the people of Paris, holding her son in her arms like another Maria Theresa. But the resolution of remaining in Paris was contrary to the wishes expressed by the Emperor, and the responsibility of the council risked being seriously involved if the majority of its members pronounced themselves in favour of an opposite decision. The government of the Regency then produced the Emperor's letter of March 16th. It put an end to all discussion and determined the departure, only Joseph explained that it was necessary to be informed of the real strength of the enemy's army, which was following the troops of Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and offered to remain behind in Paris with the Ministers of War, of the War Administration and of Marine. It was agreed that the decision of the council should be published, that the enemy's forces should be reconnoitred, and

that in case they were so great that all resistance was out of the question, King Joseph and the three ministers should follow the government to the Loire. A proclamation which was posted on the walls, appeared after the departure of the Empress and of her son to temper the discouragement of the inhabitants. The Minister of War, questioned during the council on the number of guns which he could dispose of in case of need, had answered that only very few were in a state of repair, because the guns which were fit for use were distributed daily amongst the conscripts on their way to the army.

At the end of the sitting of the council, which lasted past midnight, King Joseph and the Archchancellor followed the Empress to her rooms; I was present also. After having exchanged some words on the disastrous consequences which might result from abandoning Paris, King Joseph and the Archchancellor ventured to tell the Empress that she alone was in a position to decide what steps should be taken in such a grave state of affairs. The Empress answered them that they were both her forced councillors, and that she could not take it upon herself to give an order contrary to the Emperor's, confirmed by the deliberations of the privy council, without first having obtained their formal advice in a signed document. Both refused to assume this responsibility.

Now that the past can be examined in cold blood, has one the right to blame this conduct? If honour and loyalty be not empty words, were Joseph and Cambacérès allowed to sacrifice the man who had given them his confidence and to treat with his enemy in his absence? If they had consented to sanction

Napoleon's deposition, for to disobey his orders was to provoke it, they could no doubt obtain for the Empress the acknowledgment of her son, King Joseph the general-lieutenantship of the empire, and the Arch-chancellor the preservation of his dignities.... but at what a price!

The conversation was brought to a close by a declaration on the part of the Empress that were she to fall into the Seine with her son, as the Emperor had said, she would not hesitate one moment about leaving. A wish so formally expressed as that of her husband was a sacred command to her.

Napoleon has since complained that his order was too strictly interpreted; he has said that the execution of this order was subordinated to circumstances, which had changed since the day on which he had given it. There can be no doubt that the Empress's presence in Paris might have checkmated guilty manœuvres and have given Napoleon time to arrive to the rescue of his capital by preceding the enemy there. The privy council had felt this; the Empress and her councillors understood it, but who would have dared to disobey the formal instructions which we have recorded? Moreover the subsequent letters of the Emperor, during the fortnight which had elapsed between the time when they were given and the day on which they were carried out, had neither cancelled nor modified these orders.

The treasure and the most valuable things were loaded upon vans which were to follow the Empress's escort. I sent for the archivist attached to the Emperor's cabinet and named to him, according to instructions which I had received, the most important papers which

Napoleon had not taken away with him, so that they might be burned. This order was only partially carried out, and the government of the Restoration found a sufficiently large number of papers which ought to have been destroyed. I carried away with me family papers and letters to preserve them until they were in danger of being taken, in which case I was to destroy them. I then withdrew to my dwelling, where I made my arrangements for following the Empress with my family on the following day. It had been agreed that King Joseph should proceed to the outposts to acquaint himself personally with the situation of the Marshals Marmont and Mortier, and that the Empress should await his return before taking her departure.

The departure had been fixed for the morrow, March 29th, at eight o'clock in the morning. The carriages with the horses put to were waiting in the Carrousel courtyard. The Empress, dressed and ready to go, had been in her apartments with her son and the ladies in waiting, since seven in the morning. Distracted and with her mind full of sorrowful presentiments, she evaded the questions of her son, whose happy carelessness was disturbed by this unusual movement. Already at break of day the drawing-rooms had filled with the people who had been appointed to follow the sovereign. A painful silence had succeeded the noisy conversations which had at first been exchanged on the subject of what was the object of general solicitude, but the anxiety was none the less great. A sudden noise, the opening of a door, was sufficient to agitate everybody present. We were expecting to see King Joseph, who had proceeded to the gates of Paris before daybreak, or at least somebody sent by

him. Suddenly the officers of the national guard on service at the Tuileries, together with other officers entered precipitously, and gaining access to the Empress implored her not to leave Paris, and promised to defend her. Marie Louise, touched to tears by their devotion, told them of the Emperor's orders. She however delayed her departure, hour by hour, and sought to gain time, feeling that her departure would be a public disaster; she hoped without daring to admit it that some fortuitous occurrence would prevent it. Clarke, the Minister of War, who the previous evening had insisted on the necessity of the Empress's departure, had sent an officer in the morning to point out to the Empress how urgent it was that she should start. Pressed by some to hasten away, and by others on the contrary to remain, Marie Louise was a prey to extreme agitation. She once re-entered her bedroom, threw her hat on the bed in a temper, and sat down on an easy-chair. There, resting her head on her hands, she began to cry. In the midst of her complaints broken with tears, she was heard to repeat with impatience: "My God, let them make up their minds and put an end to this agony." At last towards ten o'clock, the Minister of War sent word to her that there was not a moment to lose, and that if she tarried any longer she would expose herself to falling into the hands of the Cossacks.

The Empress, receiving no message from King Joseph, then decided to leave. When the time had come to enter the carriages, the young King of Rome refused to leave his apartment. The poor child seemed to guess what the future reserved for him. "Don't go to Rambouillet," he cried out to his mother, "it's a

nasty palace; let us stop here!" He struggled in the arms of M. de Canisy, the equerry who was carrying him, saying: "I don't want to leave my house"—such was the expression that he kept repeating—"I don't want to go away, since papa is absent it is I who am the master." He clung to the doors and to the balustrade on the staircase. This obstinacy on his part excited a painful astonishment in the minds of all who witnessed this sorrowful scene, and awoke I know not what sad and gloomy presentiments.

The carriages drove out slowly, and as though a counter-order was hoped for, by the Pont-Royal gate. Ten heavy green berlines, with the imperial arms painted on the panels of the doors, a crowd of carriages, baggages and vans formed a line which stretched right across the courtyard. Sixty or eighty sightseers contemplated this sorrowful procession in gloomy silence, as though they had been looking at a funeral procession; they were indeed present at the funeral of the Empire. Their feelings were manifested in no way; not a voice raised itself to salute with an expression of regret the bitterness of this cruel separation. If somebody had had the inspiration to cut the traces of the carriages, the Empress would not have left, she passed out through the gateway of the Tuileries courtyard, with tears in her eyes and death in her soul. On arriving at the Champs-Elysées, she saluted the Imperial city which she was leaving behind for a last time and bade it farewell for ever.

The danger which threatened the capital had aroused great agitation in Paris. The general alarm had been beaten all night, the national guard was assembling at full

speed. Some battalions of volunteers, with some artillery served by the brave scholars of the Polytechnic School, who paid their debt to the country before their time, marched out to support the corps of Marshals Dukes de Raguse and de Trévise. Others collected at the barriers of Paris to defend the entrance to the city. All emulated in zeal, and harmed the enemy sufficiently to oblige it to call up its reserve forces. The population of the faubourg was filled with ardour and clamoured for arms, but arms and ammunition were alike wanting. The news of the transfer of the government of the Regency to the provinces took Paris by surprise in the midst of this agitation. The hatred of the foreigners and the imminence of the danger to which the city was exposed prevented the disorders which the absence of the government and of all force able to repress them would have occasioned.

On March 29th, at daybreak, a regiment of the Prussian vanguard, the scouts of Europe under arms, appeared under the walls of the capital of France, which a handful of its brave children attempted though in vain to defend against too numerous enemies. The Emperor and the bulk of his army were far away; no news had been received of them since nine days. The city of Paris would have needed on such a day a Camillus or the heroism of a Senate, like the Senate whose majesty Brennus, long ago was able to contemplate in the Capitol.

In the meanwhile King Joseph was with the Ministers of War, of the Administration of War and of Marine, outside the barriers; it was there that they learned from the engineer of the Paris fire-brigade who

had been made a prisoner in the morning, that almost the entire allied forces were under the walls of Paris. This officer, after having been conducted before the Emperor of Russia, the King of Prussia and Prince Schwarzenberg had been sent back to the outposts; he had reported what he had seen to Marshal Marmont, who had sent him on to King Joseph.

It was not long moreover before the Duc de Raguse warned the prince of the danger of his position, which would not allow him to resist more than a few hours; he asked to be allowed to conclude an arrangement with the enemy, the French troops not being in a position to prevent the occupation by force, an occupation with which Paris was perhaps menaced during the night. King Joseph and the ministers recognized that resistance was impossible and that Paris was exposed to be carried, so to speak, by storm. General Hullin was sent to Marshal Marmont with authority to treat, for the urgency of the matter began to be felt. Indeed the columns of the enemy were already appearing in the plain and began to overwhelm the feeble forces of the two marshals; they were manœuvring in the direction of St. Denis, approaching the bridges of which they took possession, only a few minutes after King Joseph and the Ministers had crossed them. The latter had nothing left for them to do than to follow the Empress and the Regency council in conformity with their instructions.

King Joseph had promised the citizens of Paris to remain with them. He had kept his promise. His place was not within the city walls, but at the gates where the danger lay. Whilst there was the faintest hope of defending Paris he did not give up the struggle.

When after a heroic resistance Marshals Mortier and Marmont declared that they could hold out no longer it became the King's duty to save the capital from the horrors of an occupation by force; he authorized the Marshals to treat. His presence in Paris could be of no use whatever after the departure of the Empress and the King of Rome. He had done to prevent this departure what his conscience and his honour allowed him to do; he had shown himself a good citizen as well as the Emperor's devoted brother. If King Joseph had remained any longer in Paris what just reproaches would he not have merited from his contemporaries and from history! He would have remained there, but to become in the hands of the allied powers, the instrument of his brother's dethronement, an odious rôle which he could not have escaped, and which would have been imposed upon him by his desire to defend the interests of his nephew.

In one word, as long as Joseph Bonaparte preserved the hope of being of any use, he remained; when this hope vanished, he departed, but he departed the last of all.

CHAPTER IV.

The Empress's Journey—Her Suite—Fruitless Attempt on the Part of Marshal Mortier to Obtain a Suspension of Arms—Prince de Bénévent Remains in Paris—His Foresight—Arrival of the Empress at Blois—The Entrance of the Allied Sovereigns into Paris—The Emperor Alexander at Talleyrand's Mansion—Declaration of a Refusal to Treat with Napoleon and his Family—The Paris Municipal Council and Certain Royalists Ask for their Former Masters Back Again—General Beurnonville—Formation of a Provisional Government—Abbé de Montesquiou—The Senate Votes the Emperor's Dethronement—Order of the Day of April 4th—Adherence of the Legislative Body—Overflow of Calumnies and Libels—Examination of the Various Causes which Raised up Enemies Against Napoleon—Desertion of the Duc de Raguse—The Emperor's Plenipotentiaries—Retrospective Glance on the French Princes—Subornations Practised on Certain Generals and Civilians—The Duchess de Guiche—Proscription of the National Colours—The Emperor at Fontainebleau—His Abdication—His Munificence Towards His Comrades-in-Arms—Correspondence Between the Emperor and the Empress—The Empress's Anxiety—Successive Missions of the Duc de Cadore, Count Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angély, M. de Saint-Aulaire and Baron de Bausset to the Emperor of Austria—The Russian General Schouwaloff's Arrival at Blois—Departure of the Ministers and the Principal Persons in the Empress's Suite for Paris—Embarrassment of the Empress to Retain the Crown Diamonds—Destruction of the Emperor's Family Papers—On the Autograph Letters Addressed by Foreign Sovereigns to the Emperor Napoleon—Fruitless Search for These Letters—Departure from Blois—A Ciphered Letter from the Emperor—My Correspondence with the Emperor Through the Agency of my Colleague, Fain—Armistice—Doubts on the Sincerity of Good-will Expressed by the Emperor of Austria Towards His Daughter—Napoleon Wishes to Know the Empress's Secret Intentions—He Advises Her to Press Her Father to Obtain Tuscany—Arrangements of the Emperor for a Journey in Common with the Empress—He Informs Himself of the Resolutions Taken by the Various Members of His Family—Repeated Recommendations for the Restitution of the Crown Jewels—Arrangements for the Disposal of the Remainder of the Treasure of the Civil List—Madame de Montesquiou Expresses Her Determination Not to Separate from the King of Rome—With Reference to the King and Queen of Westphalia—Return of the Duc de Cadore—He Brings No Reassuring Tidings from the Emperor of Austria—Marie Louise Does Not Wish to Delay Joining the Emperor—She Asks Madame de Montesquiou's Advice—Her Farewell to the Ladies and Gentlemen of Her Household Who had Remained with Her—Arrival of M. de Metternich—M. de Talleyrand's Drawing-room—Arrival of M. Dudon, Commissioned to Remove the Emperor's Treasure, at Orleans—Lying Decree from the Provisional Government Which He Carried—Destination of the Emperor's Private Treasure—Tardy Arrival of General Cambronne at Orleans with Two Battalions of the Imperial Guard—Note Sent from Fréjus to the Empress—The Emperor's Real and Personal Estate Sequestrated—M. de Bausset Returns from his Mission—M. de Metternich's Letter—All was Decided When This Minister Arrived in Paris—Arrival in Orleans of Two Austrian Generals Charged to Conduct the Empress to Rambouillet—Letter from M. de

Metternich Concerning the Mission of These Two Officers—Letter from the Emperor on this Subject—His Illusions—Anecdote on the Crown Prince of Wurtemberg—Communication of the Treaty of April 11th to the Members of the Imperial Family—Their Farewell to the Empress—Departure of Marie Louise for Rambouillet—She Awaits her Father there During Two Days—Arrival of the Emperor Francis—The Empress's Emotion—The Emperor's Interview With His Daughter—Discontent and Innocent Sarcasms of the King of Rome—Napoleon's Attempt at Suicide—Particulars About This Matter—The Emperor of Austria Decides his Daughter to Come to Vienna —The Grand Equerry of Austria Comes to Take the Empress's Orders Concerning this Journey—Visit of the Emperor of Russia and of the King of Prussia to Rambouillet—Letter from Napoleon on This Subject—The Emperor's Departure from Fontainebleau.

THE Empress Marie Louise, who had left the Tuileries on March 29th, towards mid-day, was sadly making her way towards Rambouillet. We had a vague idea that we might stop at this palace, although this hope was not authorized by any plausible motive. The suite of the fugitive sovereign was composed of the Duchess de Montebello, lady of honour, Countess de Luçay, mistress of the wardrobe, Mesdames de Castiglione, Brignole and Montalivet, ladies of the palace, Count Beauharnais, knight of honour, MM. de Gontaut and d'Haussonville, chamberlains, Prince Aldobrandini, first equerry, MM. d'Héricy and Lambertye, equerries, de Cussy and Bausset, prefects of the palace, de Seyssel, master of ceremonies, de Guerchy, quarter-master of the palace, and finally MM. Corvisart, Bourdier, Lacourner and Royer who formed the medical staff in attendance. The King of Rome was accompanied by Countess de Montesquiou, his governess, Mesdames de Boubers and Mesgrigny, undergovernesses, M. de Canisy, equerry, and by M. Auvity, doctor. The Prince Archchancellor and the great officers of the crown who happened to be in Paris followed the Empress. An escort of about twelve hundred men, composed of grenadiers, chasseurs, dragoons

and lancers of the Imperial guard and picked gendarmes, accompanied the carriages.

The Empress arrived at Rambouillet on the same day—March 29th—and left it on the morrow to sleep at Chartres, without having received any news from Paris. The prefect was absent. Marie Louise passed the night at the prefect's house; she was very impatient to receive news of the Emperor. Kings Joseph and Jérôme with their Queens, the Ministers of War, of the Administration of War and of Marine arrived in Chartres during the night, they had all left Paris at five o'clock in the evening. There was no direct news from Napoleon except that it was heard that General Dejean, one of his aides-de-camp, had arrived, sent by him, to announce his march on Paris. We also heard of the proposals which had been made to the Emperor of Austria—proposals which seemed of a nature to remove every obstacle towards the conclusion of peace. To conform himself to the instructions notified by General Dejean to Marshal Mortier, this marshal had sent to Prince Schwarzenberg to ask for a truce, basing himself on the fact that negotiations had been commenced with the Emperor of Austria, but the Austrian commander-in-chief had answered that he had no knowledge of this fact and had refused the suspension of arms, having already concluded with Marshal Marmont a covenant for the surrender of Paris. We also heard that the Prefect of the Seine and the Prefect of Police had alone remained in the capital. Prince de Bénévent, desirous of being prepared for any event, had asked the Minister of Police for authorization to remain in Paris, on the pretext that he might be useful there. Although it could easily be seen what part he was

playing, the authorities were no longer powerful enough to force him to follow the Government to Blois. He was accordingly told that there were no orders to be given him. This opinion not shielding him sufficiently to his way of thinking, M. de Talleyrand wishing to make everything straight, left his hotel with a certain amount of display and pretended to be on his way to join the Empress, but took care to get himself arrested at the gates of Paris. Having thus put appearances on his side, Prince de Bénévent returned home to await events. Queen Hortense had returned to Navarre with the Empress Josephine.

Such was the news we received at Chartres. Our original intention was to travel to Tours, but in Vendôme the Empress received a letter from the Emperor which was forwarded by King Joseph. In this letter Napoleon announced his arrival at Cour-de-France, on March 30th, where he had heard the news of the capitulation of Paris. This letter contained the order that the Empress was to go to Blois. At the same time we heard in Vendôme that the allied troops with the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia at their head had just entered Paris, and that Prince de Bénévent was presiding at the Senate. The Empress arrived in the evening of April 2nd at Blois, and was received by the Prefect, Baron Christiani. She established herself at the Prefecture mansion. It was there that the ministers and various councillors of State, who had already proceeded to Tours, joined the Empress. This Princess stayed at Blois until April 8th, and it was here that we learnt the succession of events which had happened in Paris since the departure of the Regency Government.

Marshal Marmont taking advantage of the authorization

which had been awarded him by King Joseph, had sent one of his officers to Prince Schwarzenberg to treat on the capitulation with the allies, and it was in virtue of this capitulation that the allied sovereigns, except the Emperor of Austria, had entered Paris on March 31st, preceded by the Russian and Prussian corps. The Emperor Alexander personally had not much liking for the Bourbons. The King of Prussia had identified himself both in his language and attitude with the Emperor of Russia. Prince Schwarzenberg, in the absence of the Emperor of Austria and his principal minister, remained undecided. The Emperor Alexander had established himself at the Talleyrand Mansion in the Rue St. Florentine where he had been preceded by his minister Nesselrode. The Russian sovereign was there surrounded by people who persuaded him that the French nation entirely rejected Napoleon. The principal object of the discussions which were entered upon bore on the troubled question of knowing whether the Emperor should be retained, whether a regency should be declared, or whether the Bourbons should be recalled. Talleyrand, now already deeply compromised, seeing that the Emperor's cause was lost had thrown off the mask. Presenting Duc Dalberg, Abbés Louis and Pradt, General Dessole, and some others as organs of public opinion he had decided the two Emperors to declare that the allies would no longer treat with Napoleon. Prince Schwarzenberg maintained a silence which caused some anxiety to Talleyrand and his accomplices. At last, not wishing to take upon himself the responsibility of a refusal, the Austrian commander-in-chief yielded and took the same engagement in the name of his sovereign. The renegade faction encouraged

by this adhesion added to the declaration by which the allies forbade themselves to treat with the Emperor Napoleon the words: "Nor with any member of his family". If one could doubt that the Restoration was the work of the foreigners it would suffice to remember that the allied sovereigns would only permit the publication of the document which recalled Louis XVIII. to the throne of France, when they found themselves free from all fear, and able to dispense with considerations of every kind by the desertion of the commander of the third corps.

Thus, as it has already been very justly pointed out, it was not the national wish nor the authority of the rights of legitimacy, nor the title of a family to the crown which re-established the throne in the elder branch of the Bourbons, but it was the mere good will and pleasure of two foreign monarchs assisted by an Austrian general who without the nation's knowledge opened the doors of France to King Louis XVIII. and set him on the throne. The declaration of the allies which Michaud, the printer, had waited for in an adjoining drawing-room, had been printed and posted in Paris without loss of time. It remained to be decided what government should replace the government which these intrigues and this juggling had overthrown. A certain number of Royalists who had surrounded the Emperor Alexander from the moment of his arrival at Prince de Bénévent's house, implored him to give them back their old masters. The municipal council of Paris through the mouth-piece of its president, Bellart, had expressed a wish that the Bourbons might be recalled; the Emperor of Russia had not yet expressed his opinion. The Emperor Napoleon possessed in the person of the Duc de Vicence an advocate whose zeal

and devotion no difficulty could cool. As to Prince de Bénévent, he had burnt his ships behind him. Unwilling and unable to remain behind he had convoked the senate. The result of the deliberations of this assembly had been the appointment of a government commission charged with the administration, and the drawing-up of a draft of the constitution. This Provisional Government had Prince de Bénévent at its head as President, and as members General Beurnonville, Duc Dalberg, Senator Jaucourt, and Abbé Montesquiou. The General of Division, Beurnonville, surnamed the French Ajax in Dumouriez's army, and who was known by the exaggeration of one of his reports in which he related that the enemy had lost 10,000 men, and that the loss of the French consisted in the little finger of a chasseur, had been loaded with dignity and favours both in the army and in diplomacy by the Imperial government. General Beurnonville had left M. Lavalette very late in the evening of March 31st. They had been deploring together the fatal events which had just occurred and had agreed to meet again on the morrow morning. On arriving at Beurnonville's house Lavalette heard that the general had been sent for during the night to Prince de Bénévent's, for what reason was explained to him by the list of members of the Provisional Government. Talleyrand needed a general in the Provisional Government, and had chosen his man well; General Beurnonville displayed the greatest zeal.

Duc Dalberg, of whom we have already had occasion to speak, nephew of the Prince Primate, at first ambassador of Baden in Paris, afterwards naturalized by the grace of Napoleon, created a Duke, Councillor of State, and married

to Mlle. Brignole with an endowment of four million francs, was also reaping the reward of his perfidy towards the sovereign who had so generously adopted him. M. de Jaucourt had drawn attention to himself at the constitutional assembly and later on at the senate by the liberalism of his principles and by his honourable character. Taken up and protected by King Joseph, he had been drawn away by old remembrances, and by twenty-five years' relationship with M. de Talleyrand—a relationship which had never been interrupted even during the exile. The fifth member of the provisional government was Abbé, afterwards Duc, de Montesquiou, formerly agent general of the clergy and member of the national assembly where he defended the privileges of his order with apparent moderation and with energy. He had served the interests of the Bourbons under the Consulate and under the Empire with zeal, he had been the agent in 1800 in the application made by the Comte de Lille to the First Consul. Exiled at first he obtained without difficulty and in spite of his suspicious conduct permission to return to Paris where he lived in obscurity until the occurrences of 1814. He was on good terms with the family of Count de Montesquiou, the Grand Chamberlain, who protected him with the Imperial Government. Abbé de Montesquiou used sometimes to go and see the King of Rome's governess. During one of these visits he had begged his cousin to show him the Emperor without being seen. To oblige him Madame de Montesquiou placed him where he could see Napoleon crossing a gallery. The Abbé having looked at him with attention could not help murmuring between his teeth, yet loud enough for his

cousin to hear him, "Will no one deliver us from this little man?" Madame de Montesquiou, rather disturbed by the perseverance of this hatred hidden under gentle and inoffensive appearances, treated her relation with the greatest circumspection and prudence in the future.

Prince de Bénévent, whose greatest skill always consisted in turning events to his profit, and giving the last blow to the different governments who employed him, when fortune abandoned them, made use of a corporation which bore the title of conservative, to consummate the Emperor's ruin.

This corporation, to which Napoleon in his order of the day of April 4th, addressed to the army, made such just and such killing reproaches, disposed of the government of France without having the authority to do so, and was careful not to forget in its draft of a constitution, to stipulate for the permanent enjoyment of its salaries, and the privileges which it had received from the Emperor himself. The legislative body adhered to all the acts of the senate. A nucleus of deputies was got together to represent this assembly some way or other; it was completed later on. Whatever it may have done it was anticipated and excelled in servility by the senate. A torrent of insults, libels, and calumnies of all sorts suddenly took the place of the demonstrations of respect, and the protestations of devotion towards the Emperor who only the day before had been incensed to the extent of adulation. Every feeling of decency and respect was from that time cast aside by the majority of the corporations of the state. To many intelligent and impartial minds Napoleon was at that time our only chance of safety. Those who not understanding this separated from him,

had the right to abandon him when by patriotism he abandoned himself, but to lose all dignity in this common misfortune, to throw themselves at the feet of foreigners, to give a display of a total want of decency in desertion, to insult the genius who had been smitten by adversity, these are things which we regret to have seen, and which will long live amongst us in sorrowful remembrance. The national character will not be stained by these things because it can be rightly said that this deplorable error was the error only of some individuals, and that unlike them the nation did not insult nor repudiate the master when the day of misfortune came upon him.

In considering with greater coolness the desertions which took place at this painful time one sees there a new example of the inevitable effect of reactions which is to raise up around a man who has held great power and who has fallen, traducers of every kind. It is not from contemporaries who are always actuated by more or less vivacious passions that one can expect an impartial judgment. In their eyes the greatness of the genius and of the character of the man who has presided over important events which they witnessed has always a contestable greatness; and even those who have taken no part in these events are infinitely more prone than others to severity and to criticism. Most of the persons to whom I am alluding yoked themselves to the chariot of a new master, trampling beneath their feet the idol whom they had so long incensed, in order to preserve the estates, the honours, and the advantages with which the Imperial government had loaded them. For these turn-coats of honour, Napoleon's unpardonable crime was to have lost together with his power

all means of exercising his generosity in their favour. There are some people who do not forgive a reproach which they have merited, or who think they have not been sufficiently recompensed for their services. Certain generals, certain administrators, in whom the old jealousies of the army of the Rhine fermented, or who regretted the favours of those who had formerly been in power; certain others who were imbued with republican or indeed Royalist opinions gave vent at the sight of the fallen Colossus to hostile sentiments which till then they had very carefully kept down in the remotest recesses of their hearts. Napoleon would not admit that any obstacles were insurmountable; he would not accept the excuses of those who pleaded such obstacles in justification of their failure. This incredulity on his part was only feigned, but he considered it useful and even necessary to keep alive what he used to call the sacred fire amongst those whom he used for objects which audacity alone could attain. Those only saw in his conduct a gratuitous injustice, forgetting that in face of the resistances which crossed his plans Napoleon would have wished to have effaced the word "impossible" from the French dictionary. At the same time if he placed his confidence in those whose assertions he distinctly contradicted, this proved to them that they had not deserved ill in his eyes and that he on his side did not cease to appreciate their talents and their fidelity. The Emperor indeed took into account as occasion might be all the good will which had been displayed in his service, but the reward of the moment, the tracit reparation accorded by Napoleon did not efface in the eyes of some the injustice of the reproaches to which they had formerly been

exposed. There may still be met to-day men who have kept up these old grudges, probably finding in these childish sufferings of their vanity a plausible excuse for their desertion.

A certain number of persons bore Napoleon a grudge for not having appreciated the wisdom of their advice, and for having opposed their calculations, and crossed their views for the future in the accomplishment of his designs. Others no doubt with more susceptible but not more equitable feeling remembered that their demonstrations of devotion had not always been received with the show of sympathy proportionate to the outward signs of their assiduity. Those however ought to recognize the fact—they suffered no harm thereby—that the mind unconsciously possesses mysterious instincts which attract or repel, but which in no way bring about any alteration in point of esteem and confidence. Do not their tardy complaints on this head tend to prove that their devotion was not really very sincere?

The Emperor's disapproval of certain alliances which had been contracted by people whom he liked, with families who were rich but not respected, excited the resentment of those who had contracted these marriages. But he was prompted by the fear lest the respectability of the corporations to which they belonged might in some way be attainted.

If promotion for certain people was not as rapid as they might have hoped, instead of attributing this to want of opportunities they blamed the Emperor for having treated them unjustly. It would however be difficult to mention genuine examples of real services or of acknowledged talents which were

neglected by Napoleon, even in the case of men whom he was authorized to consider his enemies. No considerations of a man's opinions, nor of wrongs he might have committed against him, ever made him deviate from his rule of leaving no kind of merit without employment, that is to say, without reward.

A longer enumeration of the causes which raised up enemies for Napoleon amongst those who served him would be superfluous. When in order to rescue France from the tyrannical pretensions of England, and to replace her in the rank whence the successive aggrandizements of her neighbours tended to bring her down, Napoleon charged himself with labours, with privations, with dangers of every kind; when he renounced all the pleasures of life and disdained that material comfort, which even the loftiest minds sometimes need; when he exposed himself to temporary unpopularity in order to assure the success of plans fertile in great future results, the secret thereof being alone known to him—he had a right to exact the same sacrifices from those whom he employed. If he was exacting he was more so towards himself than towards others.

I have pointed out the wrongs committed by such of Napoleon's antagonists as I may call his domestic enemies. I will not undertake to define the numerous varieties of adversaries to whose passions and feelings the fall of the Imperial Government gave a free field. The principal head of indictment in which they unite against the Emperor is that after the splendid victories which he gained over the coalition he did not relax the springs of his dictatorial government. They will not recognize the understanding which existed amongst our enemies, nor the per-

severing system of hostilities of that coalition whose immense resources enabled it to repair its losses and unceasingly recommence the struggle. It was not whilst in the face of numerous active enemies constantly springing up afresh that Napoleon could indulge in such experiments as the extension of political liberties. These reproaches springing from bad faith, from ignorance, or from want of sense, we have seen them serving the hatred and the implacable rancour of the foreign powers, associating themselves with the interested passions of the princes and courtiers following in their train.

And this concert of complaints and recriminations which are but little justifiable has created a current of opinion hostile to the Emperor, in accrediting calumnies with which for a long time the present generation has been duped in France as well as abroad. The contagion of these feelings of opposition to the unhappy Emperor had not spared the majority of the leaders of the army. Instead of answering Napoleon's vibrating appeal, they forced him to abdicate. The Emperor had consented to this sacrifice in order to protect the rights of his son. The Duc de Vicence to whom the Emperor added the Duc de Raguse and the Prince de la Moskowa, and in the absence of the former, Duc de Tarente, were charged by Napoleon to carry this document to the allied sovereigns. But Marmont, on whose attachment he hought he could rely in days of adversity, urged on by the fatality which seemed to weigh upon his name, abandoned the French eagles at this moment. M. Laffitte, pressed by the firm of Lassabathie of Bordeaux to make the Duc de Raguse's family act upon him had persuaded the Marshal's brother-in-law a few days before to go to him so that he might point out to him the

uselessness of any further resistance. This seed of insubordination fell on a soil which was not prepared at that time to receive it, but it later on bore fruits.

Marshal Marmont's desertion was a mortal blow to the Imperial cause. It decided the Emperor Alexander, who till then had appeared to hesitate on the question of a regency, to exact in the name of the allied powers the unconditional abdication of the Emperor. This notification was handed to the French Imperial plenipotentiaries in the night of April 4th. On the 6th a document, by which Louis XVIII. was recalled to the throne of France, was published in Paris.

The unexpected return of the Bourbons to France after an exile of twenty-five years, naturally makes one think of the vicissitudes which this prince experienced during that long period. Louis XVIII. who was at that time known by the name of Count de Lille had at first gone to Mittau in the month of March, 1798, on the invitation which had been made to him by Czar Paul I., out of hatred for the French revolution. But his sentiments for Louis XVIII. changing completely, he very roughly sent him a command to leave Russian territory. The Emperor Alexander having broken off with France re-established only four years after this expulsion the pension of 200.000 roubles which his father had granted to Count de Lille, and invited this Prince to return to Mittau. At the time of the conclusion of the Tilsitt peace, Count de Lille left Mittau suddenly; the variations of Russian politics were during ten years the thermometer of the favour or the disfavour in which the head of the house of Bourbon was held. Count de Lille had left Mittau without having been asked to do so by Alexander,

but the Czar in transmitting to the Emperor Napoleon the news of the Prince's departure, informed him at the same time that he did not know what had prompted it. Napoleon sent word to Alexander that he attached very little importance to the Pretender's movements, and that he would very gladly give him Versailles to live in if Count de Lille cared to come to France. The future King of France afterwards went and established himself in England, but did not receive the authorization to reside in London. He afterwards went to settle himself at Hartwell, where he hired the mansion and remained there until 1814 at the time when he returned to France.

Count d'Artois, who afterwards became Charles X., had left French territory in 1789. He resided in turn in Turin and in Mantua, where he had an interview with the Emperor Leopold. After numerous peregrinations in Germany, to London, and to Edinburgh, this prince travelled to St. Petersburg, where the Empress Catherine presented him with a useless sword. On his return from Russia, Count d'Artois showed himself on the coasts of Brittany and even landed in the Ile Dieu. In 1813, he was in Germany and in 1814, in Bâle, whence he returned to France by way of the Franche-Comté, with the title of lieutenant-general of the kingdom.

Apart from their intelligences with the foreign powers, Louis XVI.'s brothers never ceased, from the time of their exile, to keep agents in Paris and to make overtures, through these agents, to members of the Convention or the Directoire, to high civil functionaries or to generals.

The immense popularity which Pichegru had enjoyed in France, after the conquest of Holland, drew the atten-

tion of the royalists upon him. Since 1795, relations had been established between this general, the Prince de Condé, and other Bourbon agents. The reward of services at first clandestine, intended afterwards to become public, which had been or were to be rendered by Pichegru to the royalist cause was to be the governorship of Alsace, a million in money, two hundred thousand francs a year, the Arbois estate, which was to bear the name of Pichegru, twelve cannon, the grand cordon of the orders of the Holy Ghost and of Saint Louis, and finally the dignity of Marshal of France. The importance of the price was proportioned to the greatness of the treason.

The part intended for Barras was less magnificent. In the month of April, 1799, the Marquis de Maisonfort proposed the assistance of this Director to the Comte de Lille. In the month of July following, Barras received letters patent signed by the King and countersigned by M. de Saint-Priest, sealed with the Great Seal, which after assuring him of amnesty, awarded him twelve million francs for himself and two million francs for his collaborators. This was four months before Brumaire the 18th. This secret covenant was not known to Napoleon who heard of it from Consul Lebrun to whom Abbé Montesquiou had revealed it.

On June 9th, 1796, the Comte de Lille had authorized Pichegru to approach certain influential generals in the army in Italy. M. Rocques de Montgaillard was also charged, shortly before Fructidor 18th, to offer General Bonaparte the vice-royalty of Corsica, the post of Marshal of France and the blue cordon; but this agent was unable to fulfil his mission and could not reach General Bonaparte.

The silence which General Moreau observed during six months on the seizure of General Kinglin's vans, in which Moreau had found the correspondence of Pichegru with the Prince of Condé, this silence, we say, has seemed to some a proof of Moreau's interested complicity in the royalist conspiracy. However, half a century has passed since that event took place, and as no fresh revelations have been made on the subject, it remains established that Moreau was not mixed up in Pichegru's machinations. *

With regard to the Pretender's alleged relations with the revolutionary party, history may perhaps disclose these some day; but up to the present time it has been impossible to obtain other than obscure and incomplete information on this point.

Apart from the letters which the Comte de Lille wrote to the First Consul and the applications made in his name by Vendéen and other chiefs, the Comte d'Artois, faithful to his habits of gallantry, had entrusted the beautiful Duchess de Guiche with a mission of seduction at the court of the First Consul. Believing Josephine to have an inclination towards royalist ideas and an influence over Napoleon which she did not possess, the future King Charles X. had caused the most magnificent assurances of the gratitude of the Bourbons to be made to her, through Madame de Guiche, if the First Consul should consent to favour their re-establishment. Josephine had received the duchess with affability, and had even asked her to lunch; but she also very politely refused her offers. The answer which the First Consul made to the

* General Moreau only informed the Directoire of what he had found after the discovery of the conspiracy of Fructidor 10th.

proposal that there should be erected on the Place du Carrousel, a column surmounted with his statue crowning the Bourbons, is well known. "My tomb," he said, "will serve as pedestal to this statue."

The emissaries of the two brothers often arrived with contradictory instructions. The Comte de Lille feigned to lend himself to ideas of constitutional monarchy, of amnesty and of amicable arrangement with the persons who had bought national property. Count d'Artois spoke of nothing but absolute monarchy and revenge. These princes were assisted by Russia and by England.

A fact worthy of mention is that the princes of the House of Orleans figured in no intrigue against their country, took no part in any league with foreigners, and placed themselves in the pay of no European powers. The only exception to this line of conduct which can be quoted is the relations between the head of the Orleans family and the Cadiz Regency in the month of May, 1810.

The abdication of the Emperor brought with it the proscription of the national colours which he had covered with glory and rendered the object of the respect of all the world. This great event was carried through with an ease which astonished the foreigners. One of the first acts of the new government, in its contempt for the national glory, had been to invite the Paris national guard to assume the white cockade. The leaders of the twelve legions had at first not seemed disposed to obey, but a week later, on a second order, the tricolour disappeared. This apparent resignation emboldened the provisional government to order that the white cockade and the white flag should in future

be the cockade and flag of France. The army and the navy submitted to this humiliating necessity with a shudder, and bitter resentment was pressed down to the bottom of the hearts of our officers and even of the private soldiers.

The allies were alarmed by the bombast and the pretensions of the royalists. They begged the new king to make use of the elements of the Revolution in governing and to give France a constitution. Nevertheless they looked upon the proscription of the national colours as a reason for security. These colours reminded them of things which they preferred to forget, and moreover they feared that unless the white flag were hoisted the whole country might rise to arms against their soldiers. Other foreigners, endowed with more foresight, feared on the contrary lest the proscribed colours might become a formidable rallying sign for the partisans of the fallen Emperor. The white cockade, which was forced upon France during fifteen years, the last symbol of the counter-revolution, could not survive the government which was overthrown by the Revolution of 1830. A national government re-established on that day in France the tricolour, which had been adopted by the French nation, which will know no others after all the remembrances of triumphs and greatness of which the blue, white, and red flag has become the emblem.

After signing the abdication at Fontainebleau, after his abandonment by his comrades-in-arms who were impatient to enjoy in peace the honours and riches with which he had loaded them,* Napoleon kept up an

* Never did any head of a government reward military services more splendidly; I will only quote one example of this. At the time of the

active correspondence with Marie Louise. Not a day passed without his sending her an officer, in spite of the fact that the road to Blois was intercepted by the enemy. Marie Louise sometimes expressed her regret at having left Paris and spoke of her wish to rejoin the Emperor. The obstacles which opposed themselves to the realization of this desire, the conflict of contradictory opinions expressed on the subject by those who surrounded her, made her postpone endeavouring to bring this meeting about, much as it was in her thoughts. Her anxiety had reached its highest pitch; the violent emotions which she had undergone, the tears which she was constantly shedding, her painful sleeplessness had cast her into a state of nervousness which nearly approached a convulsive state. She could not imagine what passions were agitating France. The assurances which she had received from her father constantly reverted to her mind; she could not persuade herself that the Emperor of Austria would sacrifice her husband and her son. At the same time the events which hastened on in Paris left her but few illusions; she was confounded; but like a drowning woman she

1809 war, the Emperor commissioned the Minister of Finance to pay to each of the Marshals or principal commanders of the army corps, who were to take part in the campaign, a sum, not equally large for all, intended for the purchase of big mansions in Paris. This present was apart from the liberalities and endowments which the Emperor awarded to his lieutenants in various circumstances, notably after the 1806 campaign. He then distributed from eleven to twelve millions in money to his lieutenants, to thirty of his generals, to certain civilians and to the Polish generals Zayonchek and Dombrowski. So great was the idea which his Marshals and lieutenants had formed of the prince's munificence and of the fortune to which they might pretend under the flags, that one of them refused to give a receipt for the sum of one million which had been paid to him, as though such a sum were not of sufficient importance to necessitate such a formality. The Minister was obliged to get one of his near relatives to interfere to obtain it.

clung to the paternal affection which seemed to her her only means of safety. Hearing that the Emperor of Austria was not in Paris, she hoped that he would not consent to what had been done in his absence and that her voice would be listened to; she sent him the Duc de Cadore with a pressing letter. The Duc de Cadore, former ambassador of France to Vienna, had been treated with the greatest kindness by the Emperor Francis who had deigned to be the godfather of one of his children. He left Blois on April 6th, and was replaced by M. de Montalivet in the post of secretary of State to the Regency. On the morrow, Count Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angély was sent on the same mission; on the 8th, MM. de St. Aulaire and Bausset left charged with fresh letters from the Empress to the Emperor of Austria. The Empress's stay in Blois alternated between fears and hopes, in the expectation of what Napoleon should decide to do, and especially in the expectation of the turn of events; it was not marked by any important act of government. The Empress presided at Regency councils every day, the object of which was rather to communicate the news that had been received and to exchange opinions than to attend to business; he who put all things in motion was there no more. As nobody could foresee what any day might bring forth, the Ministers used to come to the Empress's house in their travelling suits. The only act which emanated from the Government in its retreat in Blois was a proclamation to the French, which, so to speak, attracted no attention whatever.

The Emperor's brothers Joseph and Jérôme, as well as the Archchancellor made an application to the Empress on the morning of April 8th, which has given

rise to erroneous interpretations. The Regent's counsellors had fears, for which there was good foundation, for the safety of Napoleon's wife and child; and it was with this in their minds that they came to point out to the Empress that it was necessary for her to leave Blois to proceed with the young prince over the Loire and to transport the seat of the government thither. Marie Louise, tired of the hazards of a wandering life, remained immovable in the resolution of not going further away; in spite of the vivacity with which Jérôme explained the reasons why he insisted on the matter, the princess would not yield. The officers of her suite, General Caffarelli at the head of them, thinking wrongly that violence was being done to Napoleon's wife, interfered in her favour in a somewhat tumultuous manner. Three hours later a Russian commissioner arrived to secure the persons of the Empress and of her son.

Count Schouwaloff arrived in Blois at two o'clock in the afternoon. This commissioner of the allied powers, aide-de-camp of the Emperor of Russia, was accompanied by Baron de Saint-Aignan, equerry of the Emperor Napoleon and brother-in-law of the Duc de Vicence; he communicated the object of his mission, which was to conduct the Empress and her son to Orleans. General Schouwaloff's arrival gave the signal for the departure of the principal persons who had accompanied the Empress. Each went to fetch his passports at the mairie to have them visaed by the Russian officer, whose lodgings were filled with people all day long. The majority of the Ministers and councillors of state left for Paris. I saw the Minister of War, the Duc de Feltre—Clarke —who with the smile which he always wore, told me

that he had come to take farewell of his old colleague—he had been secretary to the cabinet—and to hand him a letter which he had written to the Emperor to take leave of him. He added that when one left people, it ought to be done politely; that he had to give an account of the state of the war-archives, the depot of maps and so on; that he did not want to be considered a thief.

From that moment forward it was put out of the Empress's power to join the Emperor. Whatever illusion she may have wished to retain on this point, the separation of the two spouses was decided. If the assurances since given by the Austrian Ministers, and by the Emperor Francis himself, that she would be left to inhabit the Island of Elba or her new States, or to divide her residence between Parma and the Island of Elba, were sincere, it was no longer in their power to keep their promises as had to be admitted later on.

On April 9th, very early in the morning, I went to the Empress's house. I found her up and rather nervous as to how the journey would pass off. She sent for the crown jewels, which she did not very well know what to do with. Knowing that she would have to pass through posts of Cossacks and be escorted by foreign troops, she feared lest her carriages might be looted; she thought of carrying the various parures into which these jewels had been made, upon her person, never doubting that her person would be respected. There remained the imperial sword on the hilt of which the Regent diamond had been mounted, and the blade of which was in the way. Unable to take anybody into my confidence, I was reduced to se-

parate this blade from its handle by myself. As I had no tool at my disposal fit for such work, I had the idea of placing the blade under one of the fire-dogs in the fire-place of the Empress's apartment, and to my great satisfaction, I discovered that it was made of brass; so that I had little trouble in breaking it. I hid the hilt under my clothes, and I proceeded to my carriage through the hindrances occasioned by the block of horses and carriages, not without trembling for the safety of my precious burthen. I had preserved the family papers and other valuable documents which the Emperor had ordered me to carry away from the Tuileries, at the moment of our departure, to destroy them if they ran any risk of being seized or lost, till then; I now thought that the latter circumstance had arrived and threw them into the fire.

I think it necessary to say that amongst these papers there were not the letters addressed by foreign sovereigns to Napoleon; had they formed part of this collection, we should know definitely what became of these curious documents, over the fate of which there has till now reigned an impenetrable obscurity.

All the searches which were carried out by the Emperor's orders, for these papers, by King Joseph, the Duc de Bassano, and myself remained without result.

After having been stolen from the Count de Survilliers—the name which King Joseph had taken—in the portmanteaux sent from Paris to Point Breeze near New York, they are said to have fallen, according to the statement of Doctor O'Meara, into the hands of Murray, an English publisher in London. M. de Liéven, the Russian ambassador to England, it is said, bought

back his sovereign's letters for the sum of ten thousand pounds.*

As far as I can remember, the letters of this important collection which possessed the greatest interest, had been written by the Emperor Alexander. Those written

*In answer to my inquiry on this point Mr. John Murray writes me: "You will find the full account of my grandfather's share in the negotiations concerning Bonaparte's private correspondence in 'A Publisher and His Friends,' vol. ii pp. 279—280." I annex the extract referred to, from which it will be seen that de Méneval is incorrect in his statement that these letters ever came into Mr. Murray's hands.

"In 1815 a very remarkable collection of documents was offered to Mr. Murray for purchase and publication. They were in the possession of one of Napoleon's generals, a friend of Miss Waldie. The collection consisted of the personal correspondence of Bonaparte, when in the height of his power, with all the crowned heads and leading personages of Europe, upon subjects so strictly confidential that they had not even been communicated to their own ministers or private secretaries. They were consequently all written by their own hands.

"As regards the contents of these letters, Mr. Murray had to depend upon his memory, after making a hurried perusal of them. He was not allowed to copy any of them, but merely took a rough list. No record was kept of the dates. Among them was a letter from the King of Bavaria, urging his claims as a true and faithful ally, and claiming for his reward the dominion of Würtemberg.

"There were several letters from the Prussian Royal family, including one from the King, insinuating that by the cession of Hanover to him his territorial frontier would be rendered more secure. The Emperor Paul, in a letter written on a small scrap of paper, proposed to transfer his whole army to Napoleon, to be employed in turning the English out of India, provided he would prevent them passing the Gut and enclosing the Baltic.

"The Empress of Austria wrote an apology for the uncultivated state of mind of her daughter, Marie Louise, about to become Napoleon's bride; but added that her imperfect education presented the advantage of allowing Napoleon to mould her opinions and principles in accordance with his own views and wishes.

"This correspondence would probably have met with an immense sale, but *Mr. Murray entertained doubts as to the propriety of publishing documents so confidential and declined to purchase them for the sum proposed.* The next day after his refusal, he ascertained that Prince Lieven had given on behalf of his government not less than £10,000 for the letters emanating from the Court of Russia alone."

I have italicized the passage which contradicts de Méneval's statement.—R. H. S.

by the Spanish, Bavarian and Wurtemberg princes and some of those written by Prussia were also of a nature to excite curiosity, inasmuch as they were historical documents. The rest of the collection, as far as my memory serves me, was not of the same interest; however, as copies had been taken of them by the Emperor's orders, it is possible that this correspondence will appear one day.

At ten o'clock in the morning after having received Count Schouwaloff, the Empress, accompanied by her son and the princes and princesses of the imperial family, left Blois on her way to Orleans. At Beaugency the Cossacks stopped the last carriages of her suite and looted them, but at General Schouwaloff's command everything that had been taken was restored. Marie Louise arrived in Orleans at six in the evening and was received on her entry into the city by the civil and military authorities. The national guard and the garrison formed in line along her way up to the bishop's palace, where she alighted. These troops hailed her arrival with cries of "Long live the Emperor" and "Long live the Empress."

During the night which followed on our arrival at Orleans I received a ciphered letter, which had been dictated by the Emperor on April 8th. This letter had been after me to Blois and had been forwarded on to Orleans; it filled me with grief and consternation. It had been written in a moment of discouragement and bore the impress of deep sorrow. The substance of this letter was: that it had been agreed with the Emperor of Austria that the crown should pass to the King of Rome under the Regency of the Empress; that M. de Metternich was charged to formulate this

covenant; that in this state of affairs it was necessary that the Empress should always be acquainted with the whereabouts of the Emperor of Austria, to have recourse to his protection, and that everything was to be looked for, *even the Emperor's death.* I was ordered to burn this letter after having read it and to make what use of its contents I should think fit. I burned the letter in conformity with a behest which I was tempted to consider as the expression of a dying will. I was so disturbed by this fatal confidence that I thought it right to inform the Duchess of Montebello, who enjoyed the Empress's greatest confidence, and who by reason of her position was best able to keep up her courage and to comfort her if the misfortune which I feared were to come upon her; I then waited for news from Fontainebleau in terrible anxiety. The Empress had anticipated the wish expressed by the Emperor that she should keep herself in communication with her father in sending the Duc de Cadore, and MM. Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angély, de Bausset, and de Saint-Aulaire, one after the other to the Emperor of Austria.

Since the withdrawal of the ministers and the great officers of the crown the Emperor had no intermediary between the Empress and himself; I was the only person remaining with the Empress whom he was accustomed to confide in. An exchange of letters was then established between the Emperor and myself, through the agency of my colleague, Baron Fain, until the moment of his departure from Fontainebleau, and after his departure through the agency of General Bertrand. M. Fain took care to inform me that every letter that he wrote to me had been dictated to him

from the first word to the last. I received one letter and sometimes two, sent off at different hours, every day. I will not transcribe these letters textually; I will only copy the passages which can throw a light on events and reveal the thoughts which occupied the Emperor's mind and his solicitude for the Empress.

To the letter of April the 9th was annexed the armistice concluded with Prince Schwarzenberg by the commissioners invested with full powers by the Emperor, the Marshals, Prince de la Moskowa, the Duc de Tarente and the Duc de Vicence. In virtue of this armistice of forty-eight hours, preliminary of the negotiations, a line of demarcation was drawn, starting from the sea and following the limits which separated the departments of the Somme, the Oise, Seine-et-Oise, Seine-et-Marne, the Yonne, the Côte d'Or, Saône-et-Loire, Rhône, Seine-Inférieure, Eure, Eure-et-Loire, Loiret, Nièvre, Allier, and Loire. Thence this line followed the frontier of the Isère department up to Mont-Cenis. In the department of Seine-et-Marne the line of demarcation followed the bed of the Seine, the right banks of which were occupied by the allied troops and the left banks by the French.

Since the opening of the negotiations which had been entered upon by Napoleon's three plenipotentiaries with the allies, Prince Schwarzenberg, in spite of the friendly disposition which the Emperor of Austria had manifested towards his daughter, opposed that Tuscany, which had been asked for Marie Louise by Napoleon, should be granted to her. A certain latitude was left to the Emperor to select his personal residence, but he preferred the Island of Elba to any other arrangement.

Another letter of the 9th, addressed to me, informed me that Napoleon

"was expecting news from Paris before deciding about his journey; that he wished to join the Empress near Gien; that he supposed that *Madame* (his mother) and his brothers were already on their way to Provence . . . .

"He wished to know whether the Empress was travelling by stage-coach or with her own horses."

Passing on to subjects personal to me,

"he supposed that it was my intention to follow the Empress wherever she might go; he said that he considered that warm climates were favourable to my health; that my wife and children could follow me there; that in taking a step which was in conformity with my sentiments, I could also be useful to the Emperor; that his greatest sorrow was to think of the troubles which the Empress was undergoing and the harm that they must do to her health."

A letter written on the evening of the 10th, stated that, according to letters received by the Emperor, the Empress seemed disposed to go and see her father:

"But," he added, "does she know where her father is? It was reported yesterday that he must be at Brie-Comte-Robert, and would arrive in Paris to-day; all these reports are very vague. If you have any more positive information, acquaint us with it. The Emperor expects the Duc de Vicence this evening, who will bring him some definite decision on his affairs. The Emperor wishes you to find out what are the Empress's real intentions and to know whether she prefers to follow the Emperor in all the hazards of this evil fortune or to retire, either into a State which will be given to her, or to her father's palace with her son. The Emperor would also like you to inform yourself what

each of the Empress's or King of Rome's red ladies* wishes to do . . . Try and find out also what each of the Emperor's three brothers wishes to do; of course this communication will be in confidence."

I answered that I feared that the Empress was no longer at liberty to join the Emperor; that I thought that personally she wished to do so but that she still trusted in her father's affection who, as she used to say, would not allow her to be separated from her husband and from her son; that she authorized herself by the wish expressed by the Emperor to await the effect of the applications which she had made to the Emperor of Austria. I added that the fear of being arrested on her way might keep her back, and that the idea of flight was repugnant to her.

In a later letter of the same day the Emperor asks me to send him news as to the Empress's health. He would like to have Doctor Corvisart's opinion on this subject.

In a letter dated the 11th, at four o'clock in the morning, Napoleon sent me word:

"that M. de Metternich has arrived in Paris but does not seem better disposed than M. de Schwarzenberg; that the Empress's plan of going to see her father still seems advisable; that however it is not yet known in Paris where the Emperor of Austria may be, that if the Empress knows it, he would like her to tell him before setting out on her journey."

In a letter sent off at noon on the same day the Emperor informs me of what follows:

* The "red ladies" were the Empress's *dames d'annonce*, so called by the Emperor because they wore amaranth-coloured dresses. The Emperor used to call the Empress's chambermaids "the white women" because they were usually dressed in white.

"It appears that arrangements were signed this night between the Duc de Vicence and the ambassadors of Russia, Austria, and England; that the island of Elba is given to the Emperor; Piacenza, Parma and Guastalla to the Empress and the King of Rome. It would be well however for the Empress to continue pressing her father for Tuscany, and if that be impossible at least to obtain in addition to Parma and Piacenza the territories of Lucca, Piombino, Massa di Carrara, and the Pontremoli enclosures; by this means the Empress would be in communication with the island of Elba . . .

"The Emperor's plan would be to proceed to Briare, as soon as his affairs are settled, the Empress to join him there, so as to continue their journey by Nevers, Moulins and Mont-Cenis as far as Parma. The Empress and the King of Rome might rest at Parma, whilst the Emperor would go on to the island of Elba to prepare everything necessary for the Empress's arrival. It is stipulated in the treaty that every Frenchman who shall follow him shall preserve his rights as a Frenchman and his estates, and will be at liberty to return to France . . . ."

He also spoke in this letter of replacing Madame de Montesquiou as governess to his son, for he had heard that the Countess did not wish to leave Paris, though I do not know who had told him so. The Emperor also strongly insisted in the same letter on the indispensable restitution of the crown jewels.

I communicated the substance of this letter to the Empress. She said that she would acquaint her father of the arrangements which were proposed in it. I sent word to the Emperor that the sword in the hilt of which the Regent diamond had been set, and all the diamonds of the crown, had been handed over to M. de la Bouillerie, in conformity with his orders.

As regards Madame de Montesquiou and her alleged intention, I informed Napoleon that his son's governess had never expressed any intention of returning to Paris, and that on the contrary she charged me to inform him that whatever might happen, she was decided not to separate herself from her royal pupil, unless he was torn from her arms by force.

The Emperor had expressed the desire of seeing the Queen of Westphalia, born Princess of Wurtemberg, remain in Paris in spite of what had happened, but nothing could determine this very model of conjugal devotion to live away from her husband.

Napoleon had hopes in King Jérôme, and it was just at the time when the maturity of his judgment was developing his natural qualities that fortune came to overthrow the edifice of which he was called to be one of the strongest supports. Jérôme seconded the Emperor with the ardour of absolute devotion in his days of adversity. He gave him the last proofs of this devotion during the short campaign of Waterloo, where he was the last to leave the field of battle after having accomplished prodigies of valour.

On the day after her arrival at Orleans, (it was Easter Day,) the Empress received the Duc de Cadore, after mass, on his return from his mission to the Emperor of Austria whom he had only been able to join at Chanceaux, near Dijon. This prince had been dragged away with the fugitives in consequence of Napoleon's movement upon Saint-Dizier. He found himself there, separated from his army and from his minister.

The Empress was under the empire of the reflec-

tions which were suggested to her by Napoleon's advice to put herself in communication with her father. She was alarmed by precautionary measures which seemed to warn her that the protection under which she had been always sheltered was no longer as efficacious as in the past. The Emperor of Austria's letter, which was handed to her by the Duc de Cadore, in which this prince protesting his good will, expressed his fear that his allies might not share in his zeal for her interests, increased the Empress's anxieties. She had received so many sterile protestations that she had ceased to place any reliance upon them. Her re-union with the Emperor Napoleon depicted itself in her mind, troubled by so many emotions, as an imperative duty, and she reproached herself for having so long delayed in carrying it out.

Fleeing from counsels which were not in harmony with the thought which preoccupied her mind, she rushed one day out of her dressing-room, and half-dressed, crossed the terrace which separated her apartment from that of her son, and threw herself into the arms of Madame de Montesquiou whom she held in great esteem. Intrigues had always been busy at work to separate the Empress from this lady, whose rigid character and well-known inflexibility in the accomplishment of every virtue prompted her to remind Marie Louise of the duties which some people had at times endeavoured to induce her to forget. The recollection of good advice given under important circumstances and an absolute confidence in her wisdom and the purity of her principles attracted her irresistibly towards Madame de Montesquiou. This lady had never any other thought than to remain faithful in adversity.

The Empress strengthened herself under her influence in her resolution to go and join the Emperor at Fontainebleau. She then made serious preparations for her departure which was to take place as soon as she had received an answer to her letters to the Emperor of Austria, which had been carried by M.M. de Bausset and Saint-Aulaire; she awaited the return of these gentlemen with great anxiety. They had been obliged to go as far as Paris, where they hoped the Emperor of Austria might at last have arrived.

During the day of April 11th a great part of the Empress's household, chamberlains, ladies in waiting, and equerries, came to take leave of the dethroned sovereign; this leave-taking could not but be very painful to her.

M. de Metternich, who had left the Emperor of Austria at Troyes only arrived in Paris on the morning of April 11th. Lord Castlereagh had gone to meet him, and entering his stage-coach had informed the Emperor Francis's minister of what had been done during his absence and pressed him to agree to these things in the name of his master. Metternich's arrival was awaited by high persons and by all who were compromised in any degree in having contributed to the overthrow of the Imperial Government. M. de Nesselrode, who happened to be in M. de Talleyrand's drawing-room, which was the meeting-place of the deserters from the vanquished party and the admirers of the rising sun, left precipitously on hearing of the arrival from the Austrian minister, and returned two hours afterwards to Talleyrand's mansion. The high priest of this temple of perfidy, after having spoken for a moment with the Russian minister turned round to

his friends, and with an expression of joy on his face, which was usually so impassive, said to them: "Gentlemen, the Emperor of Austria approves of what we have done."

In the meanwhile the Emperor Napoleon accompanied by some faithful servants and followed by 600 braves who attached themselves to his bad fortune was preparing to leave France with a sum of 3,400,000 francs. It is with these feeble resources that the man who had been master of Europe, who had disposed of the finances of the Empire and of the treasures which victory had poured into his hands, was about to gain the humble retreat which his enemies had not dared to refuse to the mighty vanquished. No idea of preparing a comfortable position for himself in case of adversity had ever entered Napoleon's mind; he had so completely identified himself with his country that on the day when he separated from France he deemed that he had no longer need of anything.

Whilst Marie Louise was still in Orleans, M. Dudon, formerly *maître des requêtes* to the council of state, who thanks to the protection of the Archchancellor had been rapidly promoted, arrived there charged with a special mission. He had incurred Napoleon's disfavour for having abandoned his post in Spain. The Provisional Government who considered the malcontents of the Imperial regime as excellent agents, commissioned M. Dudon to go and lay hands on the Emperor's treasure. At the same time in order to justify this iniquitous robbery the Provisional Government pretended to have been informed that considerable sums of money

had been removed from Paris before the occupation of this city by the allies—sums of money augmented by the pillage of the public municipal treasuries, the funds of the pawn-broking establishments, and even of the hospitals. The decree issued with this in view commanded all persons detaining these funds to immediately declare and pay them over to the municipal and general receivers of taxes, under the penalty of being declared despoilers and as such being prosecuted according to the law both criminally and civilly. This decree, which was dated April 9th, was signed by the five members of the Provisional Government, Talleyrand, Dalberg, François de Jaucourt, Beurnonville, and Abbé de Montesquiou.

On arriving at Orleans where he knew that he would find the Imperial treasure, which was the object of the Provisional Government's decree, M. Dudon betook himself to the house of Baron de la Bouillerie, Treasurer General of the Crown, who had nothing to do with any public funds; informed him of his quality as government commissioner, and had the books of the treasurer laid before him. He thence proceeded to the house of General Caffarelli, and notified to him the decree which confiscated the Emperor's treasures as being the product of a spoliation of the public funds. In spite of the protestations of this general and of the Duc de Cadore, who persisted in denying that the decree which was exhibited by M. Dudon was applicable to the Imperial treasure, which was purely the Emperor's private property, and the product of savings on his civil list, as was clearly established, M. Dudon, assisted by the officer of picked *gendarmes* who were entrusted with the guard of the

treasure, removed the vans which contained it in the course of the evening. These vans were standing in the square and contained about 10,000,000 francs in gold and silver coins; 3,000,000 francs in silver and gilt plate; and about 400,000 francs worth of snuff-boxes and rings enriched with diamonds which were intended to be given as presents; the Imperial clothes, and ornaments which were covered with gold embroidery; and even the Emperor's pocket-handkerchiefs which were marked with an N, and the Imperial crown. The Russian General Schouwaloff who was appealed to to interfere, in no way opposed the execution of so revolting a deed.

On the morrow—April 13th—General Cambronne arrived in Orleans with two battalions of the guard. The Emperor hearing that one of the reasons which might prevent Marie Louise from coming to Fontainebleau was the fear of being arrested on the way by the enemy, doubtless sent her this escort to protect her. I am however not acquainted with what were General Cambronne's instructions, though we received no notice of his expedition. He did not find the Empress in Orleans, for she had left the day before for Rambouillet. The general's mission was limited to protect the transport to Fontainebleau of the remains of the treasure which had been in the keeping of M. Peyrusse, whose zeal and fidelity, which at one time had been misunderstood by the Emperor, had never once failed him.

The vans containing Napoleon's private treasure which had been seized in Orleans by M. Dudon were transported to Paris. I heard from M. de la Bouillerie, who having been Treasurer of the Imperial Civil List passed to the same functions under Louis XVIII., that the remains of this treasure were conveyed to the

Tuileries, that one of the barrels of gold was broken open, and the contents distributed amongst such of the *émigrés* as were besieging the court of Count d'Artois, who was at that time lieutenant-general to the King; and that this Prince had not opposed this distribution in any way. Baron Louis, who had him appointed to the Ministry of Finance, having been informed of this pillage, made haste to come up and rescue the rest of the money. But when M. de la Bouillerie had asked for the two millions requisite to discharge an engagement taken by Napoleon in favour of the officers and servants of his household, an engagement guaranteed by Article nine of the treaty of Fontainebleau,* "Monsieur" had ordered on the unanimous advice of Baron Louis and M. de Talleyrand that the remnants of the Imperial treasure, eight or ten millions, should be purely and simply paid into the public exchequer, at first as a loan, and afterwards definitely.

Such was the fate of this treasure, the fruit of the savings which Napoleon had made out of the revenues of the civil list during ten years. Of the 120,000,000 of which it was composed at first, 100,000,000 had been employed in the noblest manner, since it had been used in reorganizing the army, and in meeting the wants of the public exchequer. The rest became as I have just related the prey of violence and of bad faith.

On the same day on which this crime was committed against the poor remnants of his material resources the Emperor had signed his abdication at Fontainebleau.

* Concluded between the allied sovereigns and the Emperor Napoleon on April 11th, 1814.

On the moment of his embarkment at Fréjus Napoleon sent me through General Bertrand a note, which will be found lower down. I handed it by his orders to the Empress, informing her that the Emperor wished her to transmit it to the Emperor, her father, a commission which was faithfully discharged by the Empress Marie Louise. The following is the note in question:

"According to Article 11 of the treaty the proceeds of the Civil list belong to the Emperor—the Duc de Cadore has the balance sheet of all which belongs to the Civil list, and of the savings which have been accumulated during 14 years.

"A treasure of from ten to twelve millions has been unjustly seized in Orleans and is to-day in sequestration in Paris.

"The Duc de Cadore and M. de la Bouillerie, the Treasurer of the Crown have in their keeping all scrip belonging to the crown, such as bank paper and investments in various establishments.

"It is evident that as the French Government is acting with ill grace in all matters, and contrary to every idea of justice, it is no use to hope for the two millions invested in government stock, and intended for the maintenance of the Island of Elba, unless some foreigner interferes in the matter.

"There are four or five hundred thousand francs worth of presents, with portraits of the Emperor which had been bought out of the funds of the Civil list, and which were seized in Orleans together with all his plate and silver. The Emperor has also been deprived of his library, and of everything in daily use by the Emperor and the Empress."

In spite of the Empress Marie Louise's pressing applications to her father, not only were none of the stipulations of the treaty of Fontainebleau in the Emperor Napoleon's favour, respected, but even his furniture and real estate, the property of which had been

guaranteed to him or the members of his family by the same treaty, were put under sequestration. This is proved by the following document addressed to King Louis XVIII., and bearing his approval:

"PARIS, DEC. 18th, 1814.

"SIRE,

"Your Majesty's ministers think that it is necessary to put a stop to any further disposal of the furniture and real estate belonging to the Bonaparte family, and to preserve them, by putting them under sequestration, until such times as Your Majesty may have otherwise ordained; they beg the King to authorize them to take this measure.

"(Signed:) DAMBRAY, Chancellor of France; ABBÉ MONTESQUIOU, FERRAND, LOUIS, Count BEUGNOT, Marshal Duc de DALMATIE, BLACAS D'AULPS, FRANÇOIS DE JAUCOURT.

"(Approved, and signed) LOUIS."

On April 12th, which was the last day spent by Marie Louise in Orleans, M. de Bausset had arrived very early in the morning, bearing a letter from Napoleon which he had taken as he passed through Fontainebleau, and a letter from Prince Metternich. M. Regnault de Saint-Jean d'Angély had not been able to reach his destination. MM. de Saint-Aulaire and Bausset, having proceeded to Paris had not found the Emperor Francis there. They handed their letters to Prince Metternich who had just arrived in Paris and had alighted at the house of Prince Schwarzenberg where these gentlemen had gone to await him.

M. de Metternich answered the Empress from Paris, on April 11th, as follows:

"That MM. de Saint-Aulaire and de Bausset had handed him the letters which she had written to her august father,

the Emperor; that having arrived in Paris during the course of the day he had made haste to forward them to their lofty destination; that he should have the honour of furnishing her on the morrow with fresh proofs of the Emperor's solicitude for herself and the King of Rome; that he had preceded H.I.M. so as not to be foreign to the arrangements which were being negotiated with H.M. the Emperor Napoleon; that, as soon as this arrangement was signed, he should have the honour of sending her somebody; that he was, however, able to assure her in advance of an independent existence to which her august son would succeed; that it would be superfluous to assure her that the Emperor took the greatest interest in her, and of the satisfaction with which he would receive her at his palace; that the most suitable arrangement would be that she should betake herself for the time being to Austria with her child, whilst awaiting the time when she should have the choice between the place where the Emperor Napoleon might be and her own residence; that in this wise the Emperor would have the satisfaction of drying the tears which she had only too much reason to shed; that she would be at peace for the time being and free to act as she pleased in the future; that she would take with her the persons in whom she reposed the greatest confidence; that the Emperor would be here in two or three days."

M. de Metternich adds:

"That what he tells her concerning her journey to Austria must be considered as entirely in conformity with the paternal desires of her august father; that he cannot beg her sufficiently to be entirely at her ease as regards the actual safety of all touching her; that she has often deigned to give him her confidence, and that she should not do less in the crisis of the moment, and that he gives her an assurance which is based on an entire knowledge of the state of things."

When Prince Metternich arrived in Paris, all had

been decided and even carried out between the allied sovereigns and Prince Schwarzenberg; the latter was as anxious to break the family ties and the marriage bond as he had been assiduous in the work of forming them. M. de Metternich had contented himself with ratifying all that had been done, and Lord Castlereagh had taken upon himself to dispel all his scruples.

The wish expressed in the Austrian minister's letter that the Empress should proceed to Vienna was the only sincere one in the letter. The assurance of the reversion of the State which should be given to her and to her son, and the promise that she would be free to choose between the place where the Emperor Napoleon was living and her own residence, are two statements which need not be commented upon. *

Only a few hours after the reception of this letter, Prince Paul Esterhazy and Prince Wenzel-Lichtenstein arrived in Orleans bringing with them another letter from Prince Metternich, which informed the Empress of the conclusion of the arrangement which in conformity with his letter of the 11th was to give her the proof of the Emperor's solicitude for her and for her son, that is to say the cession of the duchies of Parma and Piacenza. This letter had the further object of inviting Marie Louise to come to the castle of Rambouillet to meet the Emperor of Austria who, on his side, was to come there from Paris.

The Austrian envoys urged on the Empress's departure with her son for Rambouillet, and decided her to

* Napoleon, Francis Joseph Charles, ex-King of Rome, was deprived of his hereditary right to the duchy of Parma in 1817. He received in exchange the opera-bouffe duchy of Reichstadt, and was known till his death at Schönbrunn in 1832 as the Duke of Reichstadt. He might have been living till this day.—R.H.S.

set out on the evening of the same day—April 12th.

She only had time to write to her husband the Emperor, to inform him of the fresh delay in their meeting, and to acquaint him with the order which she had received to start at once for Rambouillet where she was to have an interview with her father.

At the same time as the Empress announced her departure for Rambouillet to the Emperor, this prince sent me the following letter dated April 12th, at 10 a.m.:

"How greatly must the Empress have been afflicted with the harshness with which she is being treated. The Emperor sends you a copy of a letter written yesterday by M. de Metternich to M. de Caulaincourt. H.M. supposes that M. de Saint-Aulaire came straight to you from Orleans with tidings. Rambouillet seems rather far off to the Emperor, and he further does not see the necessity of going to an imperial residence which can but awaken sad recollections in the Empress's mind; it is however for the Empress to see what it is best for her to do. M. le Duc de Vicence has not yet arrived with the arrangement; we expect him in the course of the day. I will send you a courier at once. What seems most suitable is that the Empress, the King of Rome, and the Emperor Napoleon should travel all together..."

Copy of a letter which the Duc de Vicence had just received from M. de Metternich, annexed to the preceding letter:

"I am sending MM. the Princes Esterhazy and Lichtenstein to H.M. the Empress Marie Louise, to invite H.M. to a meeting with her august father. Rambouillet seeming to us the most suitable place for this meeting, I beg your Excellency to use your best endeavours so that H.M. the Emperor Napoleon may also agree to it. Care will be taken to neutralize Rambouillet and a suitable space round it. My

master, the Emperor, would doubtless see with great pleasure that it be you, My lord Duke, who should accompany the Empress.

"Receive, My lord Duke, the assurance of my high consideration.

"METTERNICH."

This letter written from Paris was dated, April 11th, 1814.

Although M. de Metternich seemed to desire to have the Emperor Napoleon's consent to the choice of Rambouillet as a place for the meeting between the Empress and her father, the departure of this princess was so hurried on that she left Orleans at the very moment when M. de Metternich's despatch to the Duc de Vicence reached the Emperor. Besides, though Napoleon disapproved of the selection of Rambouillet, his disapproval would in any case have arrived too late. The apparent consideration of the Austrian Cabinet was mere mockery, since it took care to arrange matters so as to render all its promises vain words.

I had received, previous to the letter which I have quoted, another letter, dated the same day, at four o'clock in the morning; it will be found further on.

I cannot help saying in this connection that I refuse to believe in Napoleon's alleged sentiments of confidence—sentiments openly professed by himself—in the perfidious enemies who were about to separate him from his wife and child. It may be that he hoped by this attitude to disarm their ill-will against him. *

*This ill-will was however sufficiently marked. The Emperor of Austria had sent a hat adorned with a white cockade to the Count d'Artois at Vesoul. The cold and cruel sarcasm, to which the Emperor of Austria gave vent, on hearing, in Bohemia, of the reverses experienced by the French army in Spain at the battle of Vittoria, is, also, perhaps known: "It appears that heat is as much against my son-in-law as cold."

In any case the Emperor when at the summit of his power, displayed more generous sentiments, and did not seek to separate husbands from wives and children from their fathers. I don't want any better proof of this than the following anecdote:

In 1806, or 1807 I saw a young man arrive at St. Cloud. He was a man of elegant figure, of an interesting and noble face, and he wore a hussar's uniform with a chamois-coloured dolman. It was the Hereditary Prince of Wurtemberg who came to thank the Emperor for the kindness with which he had been treated by him and the good offices which he had received from him. This young prince, forced to leave his father's court to escape his tyrannical domination, had taken refuge in Paris. He frequented with much assiduity the house of M. Abel, the resident of the Hanseatic cities in Paris, and the charms of the daughter of this ambassador had produced so strong an impression on the mind of the prince that he thought of marrying her. A reciprocated affection as much as the state of discouragement into which the severity of the sovereign of Wurtemberg had thrown him, had prompted the heir to the throne to take this resolution. Napoleon, having been informed of the position in which the Prince of Wurtemberg found himself in Paris, had invited him to come and see him. He received him with kindness, gave him paternal advice, and even charged his treasurer to supply him with the funds of which he might stand in need. At the same time the Emperor opened a correspondence with the King of Wurtemberg with a view to recalling this prince to more tender feelings towards his son. He succeeded in inducing the king to reconcile himself

with his son and to restore him to his good graces. The Prince Royal, protected by the ascendency which the Emperor naturally exercised over the princes who owed their elevation to him, returned to Stuttgart, where the King agreed to forget what had happened. He afterwards lived with his father on fairly good terms and succeeded to his throne in 1816.

I continue my narrative with the quotation of another letter:

"FONTAINEBLEAU, this 12th of APRIL, 1814, at 4 o'clock in the morning."

"The courier bearing your letter of yesterday, referring to the Duc de Cadore's mission, has just arrived. I immediately forward you the answer dictated by the Emperor.

"It appears that the Emperor of Austria has arrived in Paris. He will be very badly received by the people who are indignant at his treatment of the Empress; he will propose to see his daughter at Rambouillet. The Empress would accordingly be obliged to travel twenty-five leagues. It is for her to decide what to do; but after such harsh treatment it seems that she will gain nothing by this interview. If the Emperor of Austria really wishes to see her, she might send him word to come to within eight or ten leagues of Orleans, her health barely allowing her to go so far. Besides, Caulaincourt has not yet arrived, we only expect him in the course of the day and the Emperor will then write again. You are now aware that Parma has been given to the Empress.

"The Emperor still thinks that it would be best for the Empress to travel with him by short stages. She might stay at Parma or at Piacenza or at some mineral water station in Italy. The Emperor thinks that nothing could be better for the Empress's health than to be with the Emperor, and he thinks that Corvisart will share this opinion."

Doctor Corvisart obstinately insisted upon the waters of Aix in Savoy, and maintained that no others would be suitable, but that, on the contrary, they would injure the Empress's health.

These letters and the letter of the same day sent off at ten in the evening and containing the copy of the treaty signed on April 11th, reached me at Orleans. I made haste to communicate the treaty to the Empress and to forward to King Joseph the articles concerning the members of the Imperial family. These left for Switzerland directly afterwards. *Madame* (the Emperor's mother), King Louis, and Cardinal Fesch had left Orleans the day before to proceed to Italy. Queen Julia, Joseph's wife, returned to Paris with her children. These princes and princesses had taken leave of the Empress on the day before their departure.

Marie Louise leaving Orleans at eight o'clock in the evening reached Rambouillet the next day at twelve, exhausted with fatigue. At Angerville she fell in with the Russian troops. It was here that the Imperial guard, which was escorting the Empress, was dismissed and proceeded thence to join the Emperor at Fontainebleau. General Schouwaloff, who accompanied the Empress on this journey, took an escort of twenty-five Cossacks who accompanied us to Rambouillet. The avenue and the interior of this castle were guarded by Russian soldiers.

The Empress entered by the park; but she could not help seeing the foreign uniforms. Russian sentinels were posted at all the gates. On arriving there she had reason to regret the haste with which she had been forced to leave Orleans; she learned that the Emperor of Austria was only to arrive in Paris on

the 14th, and that he would be unable to come to Rambouillet before the 16th; but the allies were no doubt aware of General Cambronne's march with the two battalions of the Imperial guard, with which he arrived at Orleans on the day after the Empress's departure.

This princess spent two days in Rambouillet, guarded by the Russians, and anxiously awaiting her father's arrival. He arrived on the 16th, accompanied by Prince de Metternich. In the morning of the day she was in a continual state of excitement, and the future appeared to her eyes only in the gloomiest colours. Informed of the approach of the Emperor she went to receive him at the door of her palace, followed by her son who was conducted by Madame de Montesquiou, and certain officers and ladies of her household. The Empress, deeply touched, snatched up her son and threw him, weeping, into the arms of her father, to whom in a grievous tone she said some words in German. The Emperor embraced his grandson; but the young prince seemed very indifferent to this sign of tenderness; he looked at his grandfather's long grave face with astonishment. When they were taking him to see his grandfather, he had said: "I am going to see the Emperor of Austria!" When he returned to his apartment, he said: "I have just seen the Emperor of Austria. He is not good-looking." The precocious intelligence of the poor fatherless child revenged itself in a very gentle manner, by this innocent epigram, for the harm which his grandfather's weakness had caused him. He had grasped the fact that this important person, whose name and whose presence created so much stir, was one of the principal

authors of his mother's anguish and tears and the cause of all the fuss that had been made round about him since he had left the Tuileries; he used to say that Blücher was his greatest enemy; that Louis XVIII. had taken his papa's place and was keeping back all his toys, but that he would "jolly well" have to give him back both his papa and his toys. Madame de Montesquiou's prudence removed from the child's mind whatever might have excited a dangerous irritation in him; but a word overheard as it passed, in the midst of his sports, without his appearing to understand it, fixed itself in his young imagination.

The Empress was anxious to find herself alone with her father; she accordingly barely took the time to introduce the various persons of her household who were with her, to him, and passed rapidly into her apartment with the Emperor Francis.—In the effusion of their common emotion, the father and the daughter embraced each other several times, shedding tears. The little prince was sent for. The Emperor never wearied of admiring him, and said that it was truly his blood that flowed in his veins. He told his daughter that he would take his grandson under his protection and would be a father to him. He also told her amongst other things that everything that had been done in Paris had been done without his consent, because fatality had willed it that he should be detained at Chanceaux, near Dijon, by the movements of the French army, without being able to communicate with Prince Schwarzenberg. One must after all give the Austrian sovereign and his minister the credit of having acted with a feeling of propriety in not sanctioning by their presence the dethronement of the mother and the son.

From this day forward the Empress and her son became the wards of Austria. Two battalions of infantry and two squadrons of Austrian cuirassiers replaced the Russian guards. The Russian sentinels were relieved by Austrian grenadiers, two cuirassiers being posted at the principal entrance to the palace.

Since the fatal letter of April 8th, which had caused me such keen anxiety about Napoleon's person, the terrible impression which I had felt had gradually been effaced from my mind. I had received, as has been seen, several letters from Fontainebleau which showed me that the Emperor was occupying himself with his affairs with his usual clearheadedness. The Grand Equerry, Duc de Vicence, and Colonel Montesquiou came in turn to Rambouillet and told me the first news I had had till then of the sad event which I had only suspected and feared. Marie Louise, on her side, was, I believe, a long time in ignorance of the Emperor's attempt against his own life; in any case she never spoke to me of it.

In the night of April 11th, Napoleon, whose mind was so strongly tempered, had yielded to an access of discouragement and had tried to accomplish the sinister project which it seemed evident to me had preoccupied him since the 8th. The overthrow of all his hopes and of the illusions to which he in vain essayed to cling, the ruin of the magnificent edifice which he had built up with so much trouble, but above all the consciousness of the implacable hatred of his enemies, who as long as he should live would be an insurmountable obstacle in the way of his son, excited to the highest degree the bitterness of his cruel

sorrows. He bent beneath the terrible blow which struck him down.

But Providence would not yet permit the sacrifice of his life, to which he was inclined. She reserved him for other trials and for an end which was to add to his past glories. This end was to be that of a great man in the hands of adversity, mastering it with supreme dignity and calm.

This is what is certain about this painful attempt at suicide. I have related that during the retreat from Moscow, on November 18th, 1812, the army passing the night at Doubrowna an alert which was thought to have been caused by the Cossacks took place in the morning. I added that wishing to prevent the misfortune of falling into an ambuscade, Napoleon had asked Yvan, his doctor in ordinary, to give him a sachet of poison of which he could make use to preserve himself by death from an odious captivity. The Emperor was fortunately not obliged to take recourse to this extreme measure at that time.—On his return to Paris he removed the black taffeta sachet, in which the poison had been placed, from his neck, and deposited it in one of the boxes in his travelling-bag where it remained until 1814. At the time of his great paroxysm of discouragement Napoleon remembered this sachet. One day, after having consulted Yvan on the various means of putting an end to one's life, he drew out the sachet in question before the doctor's eyes and opened it. Yvan, terrified by this action, seized part of its contents and threw it into the fire. It appears that on the morrow, a prey to the blackest thoughts, despair seized upon the Emperor's mind. Napoleon rose, without summoning anybody, diluted the rest of the poison in

a goblet, and swallowed it; what remained of this lethal substance was no doubt insufficient in quantity or had been too much diluted to cause death. On April 11th, 1814, towards eleven in the evening the silence of the palace of Fontainebleau was suddenly disturbed by the sound of groans and the noise of comings and goings. The Ducs de Bassano and de Vicence, and General Bertrand rushed to the Emperor's side, whilst Yvan himself was sent for. Napoleon was stretched out on a sofa in his bedroom, with his head leaning on his hands. He addressed himself to Doctor Yvan: "Death will have nothing to do with me. You know what I have taken." Yvan, dumbfounded, troubled, stammered, saying that he does not know what H.M. means, that he gave him nothing; at last he loses his head altogether and rushes out of the room to throw himself into an arm-chair in the adjoining room, where he has a violent fit of hysterics.

Napoleon passed a fairly quiet night. On the morrow Doctor Yvan, M. de Turenne and others presented themselves at the Emperor's levee and found him almost recovered from this violent moral and physical shock. He was calm, deeply sad, and deplored the unhappy state in which he was leaving France. As to Doctor Yvan, still troubled by the scene of the previous night, and under the impression of the terror with which it had filled him, his mind was made up to remain no longer in the palace. And so, on leaving the levee, he rushed down into the courtyard, and finding a horse tied to one of the gates, jumped on its back and galloped away.

The Emperor of Austria spent the night at Rambouillet and left on the morrow at nine o'clock in the

morning for Paris, after having taken leave of the Empress Marie Louise. What happened during this interview? With what object did Metternich accompany his sovereign? What revelations were made to Marie Louise? What secret reasons were given to her to decide her to go to Vienna and to remain there till she could go to Italy, instead of awaiting this moment in the Island of Elba? Did they think fit to reveal to her the resolution which they had taken of separating her from her husband? These are questions, the answers to which may be conjectured but which can with difficulty be solved. The Empress's respect for her father, who expressed his keen desire to have her for some time in Vienna, naturally influenced this princess, as well as the prospect of being sent at an early date to take possession of the States which were promised to her, and where she would enjoy complete liberty. She thought that she would then be free to divide her time between her new residence and the Island of Elba. However this may be the emotions to which events so extraordinary, which had followed on each other with such rapidity, had subjected this princess, had sensibly injured her health and plunged her into the deepest melancholy. The happiness of having seen her father again under the sad circumstances in which she found herself had not diminished her affliction. She used frequently to withdraw to her chamber and there, with her elbows on her knees and her head in her hands, she would give way to all the bitterness of her thoughts, and shed bitter and abundant tears.

Already on the morrow Count Trautmansdorff, the Grand Equerry of the Court of Austria, came to Rambouillet to settle the details of the journey to

Vienna. The Russian General Schouwaloff left Rambouillet to betake himself to Fontainebleau, having been appointed to accompany the Emperor on his journey to Elba. He was replaced by the Austrian General Wroleck. The Duc de Vicence, the Count de Flahaut, and several ladies, amongst others Mesdames de Luçay and de Plaisance, came to take leave of the Empress.

On the 19th the Emperor of Russia arrived at Rambouillet and lunched with the Empress. This visit seems to have been forced upon her by the Emperor of Austria, this princess at least complained bitterly of having been obliged to submit to it. Nothing could cause her greater pain than to be forced to receive the Emperor Alexander at that time—with whatever care she had dried her tears and had composed her features. The King of Prussia's visit followed on that of the Emperor of Russia, two days later. These princes could not help knowing that Marie Louise was well aware of the part they had taken in the overthrow of the empire. It must have been a poor satisfaction for them to see the abasement of a woman whom they had involved in the ruin of her husband and of her son. It is said that the object of this step was to mask the true feelings of this victim of an odious policy and to arouse the belief that she had renounced of her own free-will to make common cause with the Emperor, and that she separated herself from him to throw herself into the arms of his enemies. If such were not the motives of the visits of the King of Prussia and of the Emperor of Russia it must be admitted that their visits to Marie Louise, under such circumstances, gave a great appearance of truth to this opinion, especi-

ally on the part of the Emperor of Russia. It contrasted strongly with that magnanimity and that delicate appreciation of the proprieties which people have been pleased to attribute to him.

This prince made very ardent offers of service to the Empress and begged her to apply to none but to him. He asked to see the King of Rome whom she had had no intention of showing to him. The Czar went to the young prince alone, and saw him in the company of Madame de Montesquiou. The sight only inspired him with cold compliments. The King of Prussia arrived at Rambouillet in the afternoon of the 22nd, and only spent a few minutes there. He also expressed a wish to see the King of Rome. This interesting child was considerably bothered by these visits; he saw very well, in spite of his tender years, that these visits were not prompted by any feeling of interest in him and that he was only the object of an indiscreet curiosity.

I received, with regard to these visits, a letter from Fontainebleau, dated April 18th at five in the morning. Here are some extracts from it:

"It is inconceivable that the Emperor of Austria should not have seen the indecency of bringing the King of Prussia and the Emperor of Russia to Rambouillet, especially at a time when the Empress was ill.

"The Empress must try to go to the waters at once since this is the season.

"The Emperor is pleased to hear that you will accompany the Empress. H.M. wishes you to take every opportunity of sending him information of her."

I communicated this letter to the Empress. She disapproved of the visits of the foreign sovereigns as

much as the Emperor, but it was then no longer in her power to undo them.

Napoleon left Fontainebleau for the Island of Elba on April 20th, at noon, accompanied by the Russian General, Schouwaloff, the Austrian General, Koehler, Count Truchsess-Waldbourg, a Prussian officer, and the English Colonel, Campbell, after a memorable and touching scene, in which he took leave of his eagles and of the brave officers and soldiers of his old guard.

CHAPTER V.

The Arrival at Rambouillet of the Austrian Staff, Which is to Conduct the Empress to Vienna—Verification of the Monies from the Emperor's Treasure Which had been Deposited in the Empress's Carriage—Arrival of this Princess at Grosbois—She Spends Two Days in this Château with Her Father—My Visit to M. de Talleyrand—Revolution in Italy—Retreat of Prince Eugene—Definite Departure from Grosbois to Vienna—Journey Across France—Solemn Reception at Dijon—Stay at Bâle—Excursions in the Neighbourhood—Entry into Tyrol—Enthusiasm of the Inhabitants—Bad Accident at Innsbruck—Alarm of the Bavarian Employés—Saltzburg—Visit of the Princess Royal of Bavaria—Arrival at Schönbrunn—The Empress's Situation on Her Return to Austria—Her Reception at the Hands of Her Family—Order of Service in Her Household—She Separates Herself from Her Lady of Honour, and from Some French People Who had Accompanied Her—Presence in Vienna of the Queen of Sicily, Her Grandmother—Her Good Advice to the Empress—Plans for New Sicilian Vespers—The Empress of Austria's Interested Attentions—Marie Louise's Visits and Excursions in Vienna—She Goes to Meet Her Father on His Return from France —She Receives Him in the Stage House—Comparisons—Solemn Entry of the Emperor of Austria into Vienna—Marie Louise's Obtains Authorization to Go to the Waters of Aix in Savoy—She is Put Under the Care of an Austrian General Officer—The Empress's Agent not Recognized at Parma —MM. Paer and Isabey—The Emperor of Austria's Audience in the Room Which had Served as Cabinet to the Emperor Napoleon—The Empress Receives Letters from the Emperor—Letters from General Bertrand Dated from Fréjus and Porto-Ferraio—Particulars About the Stay in the Island of Elba—Marie Louise's Leavetaking of Her Family—The King of Rome is Left to the Care of Madame de Montesquiou—Departure for Aix—Doctor Frank is Charged with the Young Prince's Health—Supper at Munich—Stay at Berne—Arrival at Aix—The Empress is Received There by General Neipperg—Portrait of This General—General Neipperg was Born a Frenchman—The Empress Finds Her Paris Friends at Aix—I Spend the Period of the Season with My Family—Letters which I Receive from the Empress Marie Louise—This Princess's Good Feeling—She Asks the Emperor of Austria for Permission to Go and Establish Herself in Parma—The Empress Leaves Aix—Her Resignation—Reflections—Marie Louise's Journey in Oberland —I See this Princess Again at Secherons Near Geneva—An Officer Coming from the Island of Elba Brings Her the Emperor's Invitation to Go to the Island of Elba—My Journey to Prangins—I Meet King Joseph and the Queen There—Portrait of King Joseph—Rectification of a Mistake Made by King Louis at Payerne—Napoleon's Letter to His Brother Joseph —My Stay in Berne—The Empress Returns from Her Journey in Grindelwald—I Go to Meet Her at Thun—Death of the Queen of Sicily—The Empress Spends Two Days in Berne—She Meets the Princess of Wales There—The Child Austin—A Day is Spent with This Princess—Marie Louise's Excursion in Switzerland—I Precede This Princess to Vienna—Visit to the Ruins of the Castle of Hapsburg—New Order of Knighthood—Reflections on the Occasion of Her Passing Through Braunau—This Princess's Return to Schönbrunn—The Sovereigns Re-united in Vienna—The Empress's

Retired Life—Commencement of the Festivities—Enormous Expense Met by the Court of Austria—The Empress Assists at One of these Fêtes Incognito—She Receives the Visit of the Foreign Princes and Princesses in Turn—Prince de Ligne—Prince Lambesc—The King of Rome and His Uncle the Archduke Francis—Change in the Sentiments of the Viennese with Regard to the Empress—The Archduke Rodolph—Journey of the Two Emperors to Buda—Apparent Inaction of the Congress—Opposition of Spain to Marie Louise's Claim to Parma—Apparent Abandonment of Her Rights by the Emperor of Austria—Project of Indemnifying Her by the Cession of Fiefs in Bohemia—It is Suggested to the Empress that She Should Separate Her Cause from That of the Emperor—Active Steps and Officious Care Taken by Count de Neipperg—The Progress He Makes in Marie Louise's Confidence—The Mistrust Inspired by the French who Followed Her—Count de San Vitale is Presented to Marie Louise as Her Grand Chamberlain—Support Promised by the Emperor Alexander—Informal Visit of Lord Castlereagh to Schönbrunn—The Possession of Parma Seems Assured to the Empress.

ON April 22nd, after the King of Prussia's short visit, Major-General Kinski, accompanied by his adjutant, Count Desselbrune, Count Eugene Wrbna, son of the Grand Chamberlain, Taffe, chamberlain, and Karaczaï, staff officer, appointed to accompany the Empress Marie Louise, arrived at Rambouillet, and provided for the arrangements of the journey. At the same time care was taken to verify the amount of the sums which had been placed in the Empress's carriages on her departure from Orleans. The amount was found to agree with the Treasurer's balance sheet. I had the chests fastened up, and in conformity with injunctions contained in the Emperor's letter I took the keys of these chests and handed them to the Empress together with the audited balance sheet. This princess recognized the good effects of the foresight which had induced me to insist upon these resources being put at her disposal, and she was good enough to express her satisfaction. She then assembled for form's sake Generals Caffarelli and Fouler, MM. de Saint-Aignan, Bausset, and myself to discuss the ways of regulating the administration of her household. We separated without having regulated anything. MM. Caffarelli, Fouler, and Saint-Aignan were to return to

France after having conducted the Princess to Vienna. They refused to assume any responsibility. I urged M. de Bausset in his capacity of Prefect of the Palace to charge himself with the registration of all the larder and other expenses. The Empress, who seemed to wish to abdicate all authority in this matter, approved of this arrangement. I for my part wished to have nothing to do with the handling of monies, and I had every reason to applaud myself for having taken this resolution.

Rambouillet was the last Imperial residence which Marie Louise inhabited. She left it never to return to France again, making her way to Vienna. She stayed one day at Grosbois where the Emperor of Austria was expecting her. This prince received her as she was alighting from her carriage. Prince de Wagram, in order to place his principal house at the disposal of Marie Louise and her father, had retired with his wife and children to Marolles, a small château adjoining Grosbois. M. de Montesquiou, the Grand Chamberlain, was there with them. Prince de Wagram came to Grosbois to present to the Emperor of Austria some officers and ladies in waiting of the household of the Emperor Napoleon and of the Empress. Marie Louise received these people, who had come from Paris to take leave of her at Grosbois. When the last of them had withdrawn, the fallen sovereign felt herself in a state of isolation which warned her that the last bond which attached her to France had been severed.

During the Empress Marie Louise's stay in Rambouillet and Grosbois I travelled to Paris several times to carry out various orders which this princess had given me. In the course of one of these excursions

I had the curiosity to go and see Prince de Bénévent. He charged me to express to the Empress his regret for what had happened as concerned herself and her son. He said that all combinations had had to fail before the fact of Napoleon's existence; that if the Emperor had died all would have been easy; but that as long as he lived his abdication would have been mere sham; that if the regency had been adopted and the son of the Emperor had been acknowledged, his father would have come back and would have put himself back in his place. After this scantily disguised confession of his conduct and of a perfidy which did not seem to trouble him in the least, M. de Talleyrand spoke to me of my personal position. He tried to dissuade me from following the Empress. He said that I had nothing to gain in leaving the country, that I should have no reason to regret staying in France, and accepting an order of things which was irrevocably established. As I persisted in silence M. de Talleyrand changed his attitude and appearing to disavow these indirect efforts, told me amongst other things that he had but little part in the distribution of offices, that till then he had not yet been able to get appointments for capable persons whom he wished to serve. He mentioned to me M. de Rémusat * whom he had not yet been able to appoint to a prefecture. He added that when the Bourbons had no other money they distributed written promises of posts amongst their partisans. These promissory notes were to be met on their restoration. When this unhoped-for time arrived he for his part was assailed with demands from people who presented him letters which promised

* M. de Rémusat was only seventeen years old at the time.— R. H. S.

them posts in his department. It seemed to me as far as it was possible to read this impenetrable man's mind that he would have preferred the Regency to the Restoration, if Napoleon's death had allowed him to take the direction of affairs into his own hands. Some years later I had occasion to meet M. de Talleyrand at the Salon, or annual exhibition of pictures. He came up to me, although I tried to avoid him, and said to me in an ironical tone: "You have seen finer salons* than this. Have you not?"

Before commencing the account of the Empress Marie Louise's journey to Vienna I must revert to the state of things in Italy. In consequence of the desertion of the King of Naples the Viceroy of Italy had concentrated his forces on the Mincio, and had established his headquarters at Mantua. The Vice-queen had joined him there, and gave birth on April 13th to her fifth child. When the Vice-queen left Milan a coterie was already secretly agitating against French domination. General Pino, who had been Minister of War, abandoned the French cause at the same time. The Austrian General, Neipperg, who three months previously had signed the treaty against France with the Neapolitan minister of foreign affairs, presented himself at Prince Eugene's headquarters accompanied by the Count de Wartemberg, aide-de-camp to the King of Bavaria. This officer carried a letter from the king inviting his son-in-law to abandon so desperate a cause, and follow his own example. General Neipperg also acquainted the Viceroy of the occupation of Paris

* A pun on the word *salon*, which in a general sense means drawing-room, and in special application the annual Exhibition of Pictures in Paris.—R. H. S.

by the allied troops and of the dethronement of the Emperor. Prince Eugene answered these communications with these noble words: "I understand nothing about politics, but simple good sense in default of every other feeling shows that the only thing to be done under these circumstances is to unite the French and Austrian forces and to march upon Paris, there to protect the rights of Marie Louise, and of her son." Such were certainly not the intentions of General Neipperg.

On the morrow, the 17th, Prince Eugene concluded a convention with Marshal Bellegarde for the return of the French troops to their country. Whilst these things were going on news of the Treaty of Fontainebleau arrived, a treaty by which Napoleon abandoned all his claims to Italy. This was followed by the news of his abdication. These two pieces of news excited terrible fermentation in the Peninsula. On April 20th an insurrection broke out in Milan in the course of which Prina, Minister of Finance, was killed with umbrella blows. Prince Eugene's position in Italy was not long tenable. On April 25th he left Mantua with the Vice-queen, who had hardly recovered from her confinement, and proceeded by way of Verona to Munich. There he found letters from his mother which called him away, and having left his wife in Munich he proceeded immediately to Paris.

On April 25th the Empress Marie Louise, who had been styled Duchess of Parma, but who continued to wear her first title, received the farewell of her father who was returning to Paris to dine at the house of the Count d'Artois, and then proceeded on her journey which was not to be interrupted any more. Marie Louise was accompanied by Mesdames de Montebello and Brignole, by

General Caffarelli, by Barons de Saint-Aignan, Bausset, and myself. The Prince of Parma who had lost the title of King of Rome was accompanied by his noble and faithful governess Madame de Montesquiou, who had refused to separate herself from him, and by Madame Soufflot. We travelled under the guard of the Austrian General, Count Kinski, and his staff. On the way from Grosbois to Provins we passed Austrian and Cossack camps. The country presented a desolate aspect. Swarms of horses let loose in the fields were destroying all hopes of a harvest. The Empress wrote to the Emperor from Provins. I posted her letter and mine at Provins to the care of General Bertrand. These letters reached their destination and were received at Porto-Ferraio on May 25th following. We saw the same spectacle of devastation on the way from Paris to Troyes, which had saddened our departure from Grosbois; the country ravaged, villages burned, and the little village of Nogent nothing but a heap of ruins. There were not two houses standing intact. Brick chimneys alone were standing. The Empress lodged at Troyes at the house of M. de Mesgrigny, father of the Emperor's equerry, and father-in-law of the under-governess of the King of Rome. We arrived at Dijon on the evening of the 28th, after having slept at Châtillon, the city of sinister memories.*

General Giulay, military governor of the district, General Fresnel, and several other Austrian generals and superior officers received their master's daughter. All the Austrian troops were under arms and lined the streets of Dijon. General Giulay had given orders

* On account of the failure of the Congress, between Napoleon and the allied forces, opened here in February, 1814. Châtillon was also the birthplace of Marshal Marmont.—R. H. S.

that the cannon should be fired and the city be illuminated. Fortunately the Empress, informed in time, was able to escape this surfeit of untimely homages.

The Austrians affected to pay great honour to their sovereign's daughter; it was to the Archduchess and not to the Empress that these manifestations of deference and respect were addressed. Marie Louise arrived in Bâle, escorted by a detachment of Swiss cavalry which received her at the frontier, and she entered into this city between rows of Austrian and Bavarian troops. The house which she occupied had been inhabited by the Emperor of Austria; care had been taken to prepare her lodgings, all the way, in the same houses where her father had lived. Fearing lest the journey might tire her son, and anxious to escape the importunate marks of respect with which she was pursued, Marie Louise decided to rest a day in Bâle.

The courier whom the Empress had despatched from Rambouillet to Fontainebleau, brought her back a letter from Napoleon dated from Fréjus on April 28th. The Emperor had embarked for the Island of Elba the same day, at Saint-Raphael. I received by the same courier two letters from General Bertrand, also dated the 28th. These letters aroused in Marie Louise's heart regret for not having joined the Emperor in Fontainebleau; it was a secret sorrow, a kind of remorse which often manifested itself, in spite of the efforts which she made to hide her feelings. The view of the picturesque sites and the various sights afforded to the eyes by a journey through Switzerland were not sufficient to divert her from this pre-occupation. At Schaffhausen the Empress saw the Falls of the Rhine under their various aspects; in Zurich she

rowed out on the lake.—M. de Lebzeltern, the Austrian chargé d'affaires at the Diet during the absence of the ambassador, asked to be presented to her with the representatives of Russia, Bavaria and other members of the diplomatic corps; but Marie Louise refused to receive them, alleging her incognito as the reason of this refusal. She stayed twenty-four hours at Constance, made an excursion on the lake, and paid a visit to the island of Meinau. At Waldsee, she lodged at the château of the prince, who presented his wife, who was about to be confined of her seventeenth child, and his daughter, canoness of a chapter in Salzburg, to the Empress. Marie Louise's melancholy had increased during her sad journey through our desolated provinces and the Austrian States. Her nights were disturbed by painful fits of sleeplessness, and her face was often steeped in tears. After one of these sleepless nights, one day in the Tyrol, she said to me with tears in her eyes that she had lacked in resolution in Blois and that no reason ought to have delayed her departure for Fontainebleau. A praiseworthy but useless regret, which time perhaps has not altogether effaced. The guides which the Emperor Francis's solicitude had given to his daughter, faithful to their instructions, neglected nothing to awaken in Marie Louise's mind the remembrance of her German fatherland. In France and as far as the Swiss frontier, they had surrounded her, as we have related, with homage and honours, but when this princess entered Tyrol, the demonstrations of popular enthusiasm knew no limits. At Fuessen, at Reitti, at Innsbruck and as far as Salzburg, the delirium was universal.

The inhabitants of the villages rushed in crowds

to see the daughter of their well-beloved sovereign go by. Songs were heard all along the road, echoed by troops of singers placed for the purpose some distance away. The Tyroleans excel in open air concerts performed without instruments. At Fuessen, mortars were fired; at Reitti, no sooner had the Empress's carriage been seen from afar, than twenty Tyroleans, carrying ropes, rushed to meet it, unyoked the horses and dragged it to her house. During dinner, a troop of men and women sang verses in her praise outside her windows. On the morrow at seven o'clock, a Capuchin monk, followed by two or three young people, entered the passage which led to the princess's apartment and sang a number of songs with his companions before the door of her chamber.

Snow had been falling all the morning but this did not slacken the ardour of the Tyroleans. All the way from Reitti to Innsbruck, the inhabitants of all the villages were under arms, singing national anthems in chorus, saluting with flags and firing off mortars as soon as they saw the carriages. They saw in the Empress an Austrian princess only. Perhaps not one of these men who indulged in such noisy joy knew that she had reigned over France as the wife of the Emperor Napoleon. At Innsbruck, where she arrived at eight in the evening, she found the city illuminated; she was received there with the same transports and her carriage was dragged, or rather carried to the château, where she alighted.

The crowd was so great that two men and a child were crushed to death at the gate of the town. The Bavarian functionaries were awaiting the Empress at the foot of the grand staircase of the château and seemed to place themselves under her protection. The poor

Bavarians who held public offices in Tyrol were dying to get away, considering that their lives were not safe in the midst of this popular excitement. Their authority, however, was exercised in a moderate and liberal manner. The vivacity of the attachment of the Tyroleans for the house of Austria, which had been still further excited by the pretence of showing them a princess of this house, was a warning, given to Bavaria, not to think of keeping the provinces in which this affection and a hatred for foreigners had such deep roots. Tyrol was accordingly given back to Austria one month later.

From Innsbruck where she stayed two days, Marie Louise proceeded to Salzburg. The Marshal of the Court of the Prince Royal of Bavaria awaited her at the door of the château where she alighted. She was visited there by the Princess Royal, a very handsome woman, at that time about twenty years old, and she returned this visit on the following day at the Château de Mirabelle, where this princess lived. All these royal or princely residences were large and spacious.

The young prince, entrusted to the care of Madame de Montesquiou, only saw his mother at the places where she stopped. He had forgotten the grief with which he had left the Tuileries; the novelty of what he saw amused him and he enjoyed it all in the happy carelessness of childhood.

Having rested a day at Salzburg, the Empress continued her journey to Vienna by way of Moelck. Prince Trautmansdorff, Grand Equerry, came to receive her there and to ask in the name of the Empress of Austria, who was coming to meet her, by what road she proposed to travel.

She met the Empress of Austria between Saint-Polten and Siegartskirchen, at a distance of four leagues from Vienna. The Empress of Austria gave up her carriage to Madame de Montebello and Countess Lazanski, former Grand Mistress of the Archduchess Marie Louise, and entered the latter's carriage. The same evening the Empress arrived in Schönbrunn, the destination of her journey. The princes of her family, uncles and brothers, had come there from Vienna to receive her. Her sisters were awaiting her at the door of the apartment to which she was conducted by the Empress of Austria. The young Archduchesses threw themselves on her neck as though she had just escaped from some danger and they were glad to see her safe and sound.

Marie Louise had returned to Vienna in about the same position as when she had left it four or five years previously, with bitter remembrances to boot, fallen from the lofty rank which the policy of the Austrian Cabinet had temporarily bestowed upon her, and decoyed with the enjoyment of a principality which she was to purchase with the most painful sacrifices. When she had been destined to become Napoleon's wife, her father, the Emperor, had said, in taking leave of her: "Be a good wife, a good mother, and render yourself agreeable in everything to your husband." Austrian politics had mentally added: "as long as he is powerful, happy, and useful to our house." Marie Louise, on the throne on which Napoleon's choice and the eager consent of her father had placed her, had docilely obeyed her father's orders. There had never been anything to blame in her conduct as a wife. If it had been the destiny of the Empire to survive its

disasters, she would have left behind an honoured memory, after having given the example of private virtues, equal to those of the wife of Louis XIV. or the wife of Louis XV. As Empress, either from self-love or from a sense of duty she had seemed to take pride in the prosperities of the Empire. She had not shown herself indifferent to our misfortunes. She tolerated no machinations against the safety and the repose of France. In the days which preceded its agony, she was the zealous and straightforward intermediary between the Emperor and her husband, but she had never identified herself with her adopted country. Passive, a stranger to politics, contemplating with terror the sight so new to her of party struggles—not having resided in France long enough to contract ties of any strength there, she did not take in our misfortunes that active and passionate part which induced Anne of Austria and Marie Antoinette to make the cause of the country in times of trouble and danger, their personal causes. She had renounced her new country without much opposition, to take refuge in her family as a harbour where she would be sheltered from new storms. Imbued with the impressions which she had received in early youth, with the idea that the interest of the house of Austria cannot be weighed in the balance with any other interest, when her father said to her, in Schönbrunn, after her return: "As my daughter all that I have is yours, even my blood and my life; as a sovereign, I do not know you," she could but bow her head and confirm the irresistible force of such an argument by her silence. This saying of the Emperor Francis would justify the popular prejudice which attributes to the Austrian

princesses, a fatal influence on the destinies of France.

Marie Louise's family received her with all the outward signs of cordiality. The Empress of Austria and the other Archduchesses had come to reside in the palace of Schönbrunn to receive her and to live with her. During the first days, numerous visits were exchanged amongst these princes and princesses and interminable conversations were indulged in. The Empress divided the rest of her time between her son, whose apartment adjoined her own, and the French persons who had accompanied her during her journey but who were to leave her after a short stay. Comte de Lobau, who had been kept a prisoner in spite of the capitulation of Dresden, came to Schönbrunn and spent two days there before continuing his journey to Paris. He left on June 29th; the 30th was the day fixed for the departure of the Duchess de Montebello. This separation, which was extremely painful to the Empress, was tempered only by the hope of seeing the Duchess again at the springs of Aix. MM. de Saint-Aignan and Corvisart, who left with the Duchess de Montebello, also took leave. On the morrow General Caffarelli, in his turn, left for France. These successive departures revived the pain which the Empress felt in losing persons whose fidelity and devotion she had been able to appreciate. She handed the noble and loyal Caffarelli a small morocco pocketbook, which she had used, and wrote some friendly words on the first page.

On the day after Marie Louise's arrival at Schönbrunn, she settled the order of service of her household; but no particular regulations were laid down. She even wanted to banish all etiquette and realize her pet dream of a

private life. She refused to live in common with her family and preserved her domestic independence. She used to lunch and dine at her usual hours, at eleven in the morning and seven in the evening, with Countess Brignole, M. de Bausset and myself who alone remained with her.

She used to invite, in turn, a small number of persons of her family, ministers and their wives, gentlemen and ladies of the Emperor of Austria's household, and certain persons holding high rank or dignities in the State. The reception accorded to us in this court differed for each of us, but we were not treated as friends. Generally speaking we had reason neither to complain of, nor to praise the reception which was given us.

The Empress stayed about six weeks in Vienna, awaiting the return of the Emperor of Austria, who was to bring her the authorization to go to Parma and to the island of Elba. One of the consolations which she enjoyed during this first stay in Schönbrunn was the society of the Queen of Sicily, her grandmother, whose sincere attachment and vigorously expressed opinions, though they rather frightened her, helped to comfort her. This princess, the last daughter of Maria Theresa and sister of Marie Antoinette had arrived in Vienna at about the same time as Marie Louise. Unable any longer to support the authority which the English had arrogated to themselves in Sicily, she had escaped from their yoke, secretly making her way from Palermo and braving the dangers of a dangerous sea-voyage, had come to interest her son-in-law the Emperor in the restitution of the Kingdom of Naples. She had made up her mind to see each sovereign in private and not to slacken her assiduities until she

had obtained King Joachim's expulsion. Her enterprising character and her tenacity gave some trouble to the Austrian Government, which on her side she accused of egotism. This queen, who in the days of Napoleon's prosperity had been his declared enemy, and whose opinion in consequence could not be accused of partiality, professed the highest esteem for his great qualities. Hearing that I had been attached to him as secretary she sought me out to speak of him. She said that formerly she had reasons to complain of him, that he had persecuted her and hurt her feelings "for I was fifteen years younger at the time"; but that to-day that he was unhappy she forgot all. She could not check her indignation at the sight of all the manœuvres which were being made to sever the bonds which were the glory of her granddaughter and to deprive the Emperor of the sweetest consolation which could be his after the immense and cruel sacrifices which had been wrested from his pride. She added that if they were prevented from meeting, Marie Louise ought to tie her bedsheets to her window and escape under disguise. "That's what I should do in her place," she said, "because when a woman's married, it's for life." Such an act of boldness, which pleased the enterprising spirit of the old queen, was not in the scope of Marie Louise's character and contrary to her ideas of the proprieties. She was moreover lulling herself in the hope of being soon placed in possession of Parma, where she would be her own mistress and able to go where she pleased. Marie Louise used frequently to visit her grandmother; the old queen resided in the small château of Hetzendorf which was reached by one of the avenues of the Schönbrunn

park. She gave her granddaughter advice, which was too energetic to please the Empress of Austria and the Austrian Cabinet. The Queen of Sicily, having found a portrait of Napoleon enriched with diamonds, whilst looking over the contents of Marie Louise's jewel-case, urged her granddaughter to wear it. More ardent than Marie Louise in the expression of her feelings, she said one day to her lady-in-waiting that it did not suffice to wear this portrait on the breast, that it must also be worn in the heart. And finally the excellent princess showed a great liking for Napoleon's son and loaded him with caresses.

The kindnesses which were bestowed on Marie Louise by her step-mother and the Court of Vienna, masked a design to get possession of her mind, to confine her in the midst of her family, and to seek to guide her conduct and all her actions. They began to express doubts on the possibility of the journey to Aix, although she had obtained the Emperor's consent to this plan. They spoke of a château in Hungary where she could pass the summer very agreeably, and which she could inhabit during the time that the allied sovereigns were in Vienna, where they had fixed a meeting for the middle of July. It was thought that it might be disagreeable to her to be too near a city in which the congress was being held and that the sight of it would but cause her pain. If she absolutely needed a cure, why go to Aix? The Carlsbad waters or other springs in Germany might suit her state of health. Besides there would be the advantage of her not being too far away from her family. She was even made to fear that something might arise which would prevent her establishment in Parma. These

hints troubled the Empress; but she clung to the idea of going to Aix, because her father had promised her that after the season at the springs she would be at liberty to proceed to Parma directly. Another reason was that she had appointed to meet Madame de Montebello, whose absence she much regretted, at Aix. Her recollections of France and the Emperor had an attraction for her at the time.

The Empress seemed to see, as in a glass, darkly, through the worrying to which she was subjected, the secret intention to separate her from Napoleon. She blamed herself then for having too much believed in the impossibility of joining him, and for having placed too much confidence in the promises which had been made to her. It must be added that the Emperor in his letters, kept speaking of plans for their coming together.

These vexations in some degree disturbed the calm of the peaceful life which Marie Louise was leading in Schönbrunn. She devoted her mornings to her son; she drew, played, and studied Italian, a knowledge of which would be necessary to her in her new States. Madame de Montesquiou used to bring in the young Prince of Parma at the end of luncheon. The young prince's treat was what he used to call "the nice dish"; it was generally one of the hundred kinds of cakes which are to be seen on every table in Austria.

In the afternoon Marie Louise used to mount on horseback or walked out in the beautiful gardens of Schönbrunn, every building in which she saw again with pleasure.

In the first days of her arrival Napoleon's wife was the object of the curiosity and interest of the people

of Vienna. During her drives in the city, her carriage was followed by a silent crowd anxious to catch a glimpse of her. On the first Sundays, the gardens of Schönbrunn were the general meeting-place of the inhabitants of Vienna, who in their respectful whisperings seemed to congratulate Marie Louise on her return amongst them and admired the beauty of her son's face.

On June 15th the Empress left Schönbrunn early in the morning to go and meet the Emperor of Austria. She stopped at Siegartskirchen, two stages from Vienna where the Empress of Austria and the Emperor's children had preceded her. She received her father in the same room in the stage-house in which, in 1805, Napoleon had received the deputation which presented him with the keys of Vienna.

The remembrance of the scene which I had witnessed nine years previously, retraced itself in my mind with curious vividness. I saw once more the glorious victor, before whom Count Zinzendorf and the magistrates of Vienna bent down low, presenting him on a silver tray the keys of the haughty capital of Austria. I saw once more the faces and the attitudes of the deputies recommending their city and its inhabitants to Napoleon's generosity. So strongly had this hallucination seized upon me that involuntarily I closed my eyes. How different the sight that met my eyes today. In the place of the victorious soldier, whose proud attitude was tempered by a feeling of natural generosity, I beheld a princess, almost on her knees, with wet eyes, bending before a sovereign who raised her up with a gesture half of pride and half of tenderness. This princess was the wife of Napoleon, and the sove-

reign who to-day proscribed her husband was the same who formerly at the bivouac of Sar-Uchitz had implored the clemency of the French Cæsar. *

Marie Louise accompanied the Emperor Francis, alone, in his carriage to the last stage. On arriving there, she left him, as she was anxious to get to Schönbrunn a quarter of an hour before him, so to be able to present his grandson to him on his arrival. An extraordinary crowd of people from Vienna and the surrounding districts filled the road, the avenues of the park, and had even invaded the outer rooms of the palace.

The Austrian monarch left Schönbrunn on the morrow to make his solemn entry into the Austrian capital. He was on horseback, accompanied by the Archdukes, his brothers, preceded and followed by his guard at the head of which marched Prince Lambesc, who was styled Prince of Lorraine in Vienna, captain of the first guard of archers, Prince de Ligne, captain of halberd-bearers, and Prince Esterhazy, captain of the Hungarian guard of nobles. The uniform of the latter as well as the harness of his horse were covered with pearls and diamonds of considerable value. According to the custom, there was perhaps not one street through which the Emperor and his procession did not pass to the acclamations of an immense crowd. This march through the city lasted five hours and terminated at the Metropolitan church of St. Stephen, at the door of which the Archbishop of Vienna harangued the Emperor Francis, who was afterwards present at the *Te Deum*. The Emperor of Austria had been advised to make his entry into Vienna on an Arab horse which

* The Emperor Francis certainly never did anything of the sort.—R. H. S.

had been used by Napoleon, and which had been brought to Paris with the Empress's equipages, but he had the good sense to refuse this kind of triumph.

The Austrian sovereigns returned to Schönbrunn on the morrow and remained there until the departure of the Empress Marie Louise to the waters at Aix. Whilst granting her permission to undertake this journey, it was impressed upon her that it was necessary that in the future there should be at her side a person destined to act as her adviser and as a go-between between her and the Austrian Cabinet. The Emperor had selected Prince Nicolas Esterhazy. This person's rank, age, and prudence justified this selection, but the Vienna Cabinet caused Prince Esterhazy to be replaced by General Count Neipperg, who was commanding a division of Austrian troops in Pavia and who was ordered to proceed to Aix.

The Austrian General, Count Nugent, having taken possession of the Duchy of Parma in the name of the sovereign, Marie Louise had sent an agent to obtain first information as to the state of affairs in the country and its situation. This agent no doubt did not meet with the favour of the Austrian authorities who treated the Italian provinces like conquered territories. Badly treated, badly received, and even locked up in gaol, the Duchess of Parma's envoy only secured his liberation by means of the pressing appeals made by this princess to her father, the Emperor of Austria.

When Marie Louise had been of opinion that she would be free to proceed directly to Parma, she wished to take with her two celebrated artists from whom she was receiving lessons. They themselves had asked to go. One was M. Paer. Born in Parma he was pleased with the prospect of going to end his days in his

native country; a feeling of gratitude engaged him to follow the fortunes of his royal pupil, and to go and establish himself in her new States. He had been loaded with kindnesses by the Emperor who after the victory of Jena, had brought him to Paris with his wife to attach both of them to the palace musical service, with large salaries. He had been appointed director of the court theatrical performances and master of singing to the Empress. He had succeeded Spontini in 1812 in the management of the Italian Theatre. Hardly had the negotiations for his establishment in Parma been begun than he was appointed director of the concerts to Louis XVIII., to which post he afterwards added that of director and composer of music to the Duchess of Berry. The other was M. Isabey. The Empress was accustomed to the drawing lessons of this skilful and witty artist. She liked him very much and was much pleased with his good-natured humour. He was moreover the friend of Corvisart, and was protected by the Duchess de Montebello, in whom Marie Louise had great confidence. Isabey, in going to settle in Parma, wished to find there compensations for the advantages which he lost in leaving Paris. His pretensions appeared too great to the Empress who was no longer rich enough nor great enough a sovereign to satisfy them as she would have wished to have done. "And besides," she did me the honour of writing to me, "even were he to come for nothing, I should never allow myself to take him without first having obtained the Emperor's consent. You know how he objected to him and I must respect his prejudices, for though I am separated from him I am none the less responsible for my conduct to my husband."

The Emperor of Austria had deigned to receive Madame de Brignole, M. de Bausset and myself. He received us with kindness and prolonged a conversation in which no political questions were raised, for some time. The Emperor above all spoke with satisfaction of the paternal forms of his government and of the intimate, almost family, relations which existed between the different provinces and the hereditary States. He told us amongst other things that it had sometimes happened that the harvests in various parts of his hereditary states having been insufficient, cities wanted grain, that he then sent them corn from his private estates carried on his own carts and that these cities paid him it back after the harvest of the following year. It seemed to me that I was listening to a patriarch of primeval days speaking of his patronage and protection of his tribe, and not to the chief of a great empire, discoursing on the forms of government of his vast states.

A circumstance connected with this introduction struck me. The room in which the Emperor Francis received us was the same which had been used as Napoleon's cabinet in 1805 and 1806. This cabinet, filled with souvenirs of a great queen—Maria Theresa, decorated with her statue and portraits of her descendants, had re-echoed with the severe words of Napoleon against the persons of the court whose influence tended to alienate the heart of his subjects from their sovereign. The picture which the Emperor of Austria drew of the good harmony which existed between his peoples and himself, and his solicitude for their needs seemed to be in protest against the reproaches which the Emperor Napoleon had addressed to him.

During the five weeks which the Empress spent in Vienna at the time of this first journey she received several letters from the Emperor Napoleon, one through General Koehler on his return from the island of Elba whither he had accompanied the Emperor in the capacity of Austrian commissioner; the others enclosed in letters from General Bertrand to myself. Marie Louise answered them punctually. She even took advantage of the departure of a former courier, called Sandrini, to whom Countess Brignole had given a letter of recommendation, to the island of Elba, to write to Napoleon.

These are General Bertrand's letters written to me by order of the Emperor or dictated by the latter:

"His Majesty has received your letter and read the particulars it contained with interest. He desires the Empress to make the state of her pecuniary affairs known, as otherwise the Emperor, her father, may think that she has large resources, whereas as a matter of fact she has nothing. You will find annexed a note which the commissioners have consented to take; the Empress might speak in conformity therewith." (This note refers to the seizure of the Emperor's treasure and personal belongings at Orleans.)

* * * * * * * * * *

"I had written you a line this morning fearing that the Emperor might not write to Her Majesty, because we have to start early, but the departure has been put off on account of the wind having failed us. The Emperor has vomited a little bile; you know that this indisposition only lasts a few hours. At the time of writing the Emperor is in wonderful health. He has just written to the Empress.

"Please receive, etc., etc.

"(Signed) BERTRAND."

"FRÉJUS, APRIL 26th, 1814, 6 o'clock in the evening."

"I receive your letter at the moment of starting for the island of Elba. The weather is fine; and we hope to arrive there in less than two days. We had a very sad journey, as you may imagine, fairly good throughout almost the whole of France; but in Provence, we were exposed to insults which fortunately had no consequences .... You can imagine that we are very anxious that the Empress should come and divide her time between Parma and the island of Elba. It would make an enormous difference to the Emperor and to all of us; we should be happy to see her now and again: she was so kind to my wife and to myself that nobody desires it more than I do. Lay my homage at her feet, my respect, and my devotion. The Emperor has always been in very good health in spite of the cruel position he has been in during the last month. He handed his answer to the Empress to General Schouwaloff's aide-de-camp who is proceeding to the Emperor of Austria. As this letter will not be carried there directly, the Empress may perhaps be anxious at receiving no answer. I hand my letter to the courier, so that you may be informed of the early arrival of the Emperor's answer. You will hardly be able to read my writing; but I am in a great haste and my heart is so full that I hardly know what I am writing. My sentiments are none the less for you what, as you know, they have been for a long time.

"(Signed) BERTRAND."

"FRÉJUS, this 29th APRIL, 1814, at 7 a.m."

"General Koehler is leaving the island of Elba and will probably go to the Empress. He will thus be able to give you particulars about our island, which is prettier than we thought. It is in a good state of cultivation; the heat is not excessive. The Emperor will be fairly well lodged. His health is excellent. Please present my respects to the Empress.

"(Signed) BERTRAND."

"PORTO-FERRAIO, this 9th MAY, 1814."

"I have received your letter from Provins of April 26th. The newspapers have informed us of H.M.'s visit to Schaffhausen. She must have arrived in Vienna on the 16th. I have delivered the letter which was enclosed in yours.—The Emperor wished to answer the Empress through the under-officers Schopff and Hertlieb who are returning to join General Koehler; but the Emperor is out riding and the ship is under sail, so that they are obliged to go off without the Emperor's letter. I regret it very much.

"The Emperor is very happy here and seems to have forgotten that only a very short time ago he was in such a different position. He is very busy getting his house into order, furnishing it, and looking out for the site of a pretty country house.

"We often speak of our excellent Empress. The officer of the guard whose wife is in H.M.'s service, and who had the honour of presenting his respects to her at Dijon has just arrived, and gave us your news.

"I repeat, etc., etc.

"(Signed) BERTRAND."

"PORTO-FERRAIO, this 27th MAY, 1814."

"We have heard no news of you since the letter which you wrote to me from Provins on leaving Paris. We learned by the newspapers that the Empress had arrived in Vienna on May 18th.

"The Emperor continues in good health. We ride and drive and boat a great deal. The Emperor's house has already been greatly improved. We are busy arranging different residences for him in various parts of the island.

"We are anxious to receive news as early as possible of the health of the Empress and her son. The heat is beginning to make itself felt. Please lay my respects at the feet of the Empress.

"(Signed) BERTRAND."

"PORTO-FERRAIO, JUNE 25th, 1814."

"I received your letter of June 4th, a few days ago and yesterday your letter of June 21st.

"Since the letter you wrote me from Provins I had had no news of you. Your letter of the 4th contained two letters from the Empress to the Emperor, numbered 5 and 6. The preceding ones have not been received. Your letter of the 21st contained another for the Emperor; his answer is being sent off to-day. Communications not being yet re-established H.M. wrote but little. I imagine that you will soon receive one or two letters which I have written to you. I know that there is a letter from you which I shall no doubt receive very soon, under way.

"If the Empress awaited the answer to her letter in Vienna, the Emperor wishes her not to go to Aix, and if she has already gone there, not to pass the season there but to return to Tuscany as quickly as possible, the waters there being the same as in Aix. These springs are nearer to us."

* * * * * * * * * *

"We have learned from the newspapers that M. Marescalchi was commissioner to Parma for the Emperor of Austria. If you see General Koehler remember us to him. He is an excellent man and we have nothing but praise for his conduct towards us. You are thanked for the details which you give us about the King of Rome, they interested us greatly.

"May the Empress's health soon be re-established. We often speak about all concerning her. I need not tell you with what interest we read all that you send concerning her occupations and her way of living. I am asking General Rospigliosi to send you this letter by a courier. Receive, etc. etc.

"(Signed) BERTRAND."

"PORTO-FERRAIO, July 3rd, 1814."

"I have received your letter of June 6th, in which you inform us of your departure from Schönbrunn. We read of your journey through Switzerland in the papers; we are surprised to receive no news of you. The Emperor expects the

Empress for the end of August and wants her to bring his son with her. H.M. has certainly written much more frequently to the Emperor; but her letters are probably intercepted by some secondary agent's orders, or perhaps by her father's command. At the same time nobody has any rights over the Empress and her son."

"*Madame* has arrived in good health. She has already taken up her abode in her house; although the house is not a handsome one, she has plenty of room and certain comforts .... The Emperor is wonderfully well. Our amusements are always the same; certain occupations during the day; in the evening excursions on horseback, in our carriages, or in a boat. The heat has been felt for some days past but the mornings and evenings are cool. I presume that you have received the letter that I wrote you by return of the Grand-duke's courier in which I informed you that my letter of the 9th was the one that I entrusted to General Koehler, which was handed to you. My wife who has arrived safely saw M. Marescalchi in Genoa. Madame Brignole's family were all well.

"(Signed) BERTRAND."

"PORTO-FERRAIO, this 9th AUGUST, 1814."

"P.S. The officer who was to take this letter to you has left without coming to my house. I take advantage of M. Hurault's departure to send it to you. He is very anxious to see his wife again. We hope to see you in the month of September when H.M. has finished taking the waters."

"This 20th AUGUST."

The day on which the Empress was to leave for Aix was approaching. As the young prince was not to accompany his mother on this journey she sent for Doctor Frank, the Emperor of Austria's doctor, and charged him with the care of her son's health

during the child's stay in Vienna. She wrote to the doctor on this matter officially.

Napoleon's son, left under the vigilant maternal care of Madame de Montesquiou, remained accordingly with her in Schönbrunn. This young prince, whose birth had been hailed with so many blessings in our country, and who seemed destined for so lofty a future, was not to leave Austria where he had found a prison for a refuge, whilst awaiting the tomb which was to open so prematurely for him.

Two days before the Empress's departure, the Emperor Francis went to the Baden baths with his family. These baths are situated at a distance of four leagues from Vienna in a pretty valley called Saint Helena. Marie Louise went to take leave of him, and on her return received almost the entire court which came to take leave of her. An indisposition of Madame de Brignole's, which had at first given us some anxiety, but which fortunately had no consequences, delayed our departure twenty-four hours. The Empress of Austria came to Schönbrunn after dinner to say good-bye to her step-daughter and only left her after having put her into her carriage.

The Empress Marie Louise assumed the name of Duchess de Colorno for this journey, Colorno being one of the pleasure-houses of the Duchy of Parma. She travelled without stopping till we reached Morsburg where we found M. de Bausset, who had preceded us, ill with the gout. She stayed one day in this town. The road which she was following obliged her to pass through Munich. She found the viceroy and the vice-queen of Italy waiting for her at the stage-house and they took her to sup with them. Madame de Brignole and

myself, untidy as we were in our travelling costumes, followed her. We supped at the viceroy's palace with the Princess Royal of Wurtemberg, sister of the vice-queen. This princess, after her separation from the husband whom Napoleon's politics had bestowed upon her, had come to seek comfort with her sister. Providence held a splendid reparation in store for her, by placing her a year later on the Imperial throne of Austria.

Having continued her journey by way of Berne, Payerne and Chamounix, Marie Louise reached Aix on July 17th. She was received at Carrouge by General Neipperg who came to meet her on horseback, saluted her at the door of her carriage and accompanied her to Aix. This was the second time that she saw him. The sight of him created a disagreeable impression on the Empress, which she did not dissimulate.

Count Neipperg was not, it must be said, particularly well favoured. A black bandage covered the deep cicatrice of a wound by which he had lost an eye, but this disadvantage disappeared when one looked at him attentively. This wound rather suited the *ensemble* of his face, which had a martial character. His hair was of a light blonde colour, scanty and curly. His glance was bright and penetrating. His features were neither vulgar nor distinguished; taken altogether they betokened a clever and subtle man. His complexion, full-coloured on the whole, lacked in freshness, it was marked with the impress of the fatigues of war and his numerous wounds. He was of the middle height, and well-built, and the elegance of his figure was heightened by the loose cut of the Hungarian uniform. General Neipperg was at that time about forty-two

years old. This man played so important a part in Marie Louise's life and exercised so great an influence on her destiny that I must try and explain what were the qualities with which he won her confidence. His general appearance was an amiable one, mingled with alacrity and gravity. His manners were polite, insinuating and flattering. He possessed agreeable talents, and was a good musician. Active, clever, possessed of little scruple, he knew how to conceal his acuteness under an exterior of simplicity. He expressed himself and wrote with grace. He added to much tact a spirit of observation and he knew how to listen, listening with studied attention to what was said to him. His face would now assume a caressing expression, and now his glance would seek to fathom the secret thoughts. He was as clever in reading the designs of others as he was prudent in the conduct of his own. Adding to the outward signs of modesty an immense vanity and ambition, he never spoke of himself. He was brave in war and his many wounds show that he had not spared himself.

M. Armandi, colonel of artillery in the Italian army, who acted as minister of war during the troubles in Romagna in 18— has assured me that General Neipperg was in Milan, in 1814, at the house of a lady whose lover he was, when he received notice that he had been selected to reside with the new Duchess of Parma, together with his instructions. His mistress tried in vain to keep him back, ambition was stronger in him than love. This Italian mistress having asked him what he would do with Marie Louise and whether this new position would at least bring him more forward, Neipperg is said to have answered:

"I hope to be on the most intimate terms with her before six months are out, and soon to be her husband."

To complete these data on Neipperg, I must further mention a curious peculiarity of this strange destiny. The Austrian general was the son of a Frenchman. Whilst Count Neipperg, the putative father of the general, was filling a diplomatic mission in Paris, he made the acquaintance of a French officer belonging to a distinguished family. He received him with familiarity at his house and Countess Neipperg did not remain insensible to the merits of Comte d'H— who repaid her with assiduous attention. An intimacy arose accordingly between the countess and the young officer and General Neipperg was the fruit of it. The proof of this fact lies in a letter from Countess Neipperg which was found in the papers left by Count H— after his death. This concatenation of circumstances will afford a fresh subject of reflection to those who admit that fatality always plays some part in human events.

Marie Louise alighted in Aix at a house situated outside the town, belonging to a M. Chevalley. It had been prepared for her reception by care of M. Ballouhey, the intendant of the Empress's household, and was the same which Queen Hortense had already occupied. The Empress during my stay in Aix only received General Neipperg in official audiences. This princess had not yet had time to become German again and the presence of a few French people who had remained faithful to her cause still attached her by some ties to France. The Empress found MM. Corvisart and Isabey awaiting her at Aix. The Duchess de Montebello did not arrive before the beginning of August. I left Marie Louise,

on the second day after her arrival at Aix to go and spend the time of a double season at the springs with my family.

The Empress did not neglect means of corresponding with the Emperor, but opportunities became more and more scarce and difficult. She had commissioned M. de Bausset with a letter thinking that he would find facilities in Parma, where she was sending him, to forward it to Elba.

I extract from the long and numerous letters, written to me entirely by the princess herself during the seven weeks that I spent in Paris, the passages which depict the state of her mind as well as her sentiments towards the Emperor. I hope that she will pardon me for having published this correspondence during her lifetime. However it may be, I am certain that I have not committed any abuse with this publication of my communications with Parma, and the silence that Marie Louise has observed towards me since the revolution of 1830 prevented me from obtaining the consent from her which I should have been glad to be in a position to ask for.

First Letter.

"AUGUST 4th, 1814.

"I am still expecting an answer from my father to know the date of my departure for Parma. I will let you know at once. Though I should be very pleased if you would soon return to me, still I feel how much you must wish to remain a little longer with Madame de Méneval. I am sure it is very unselfish on my part to allow you to do so.

"Your very affectionate

"(Signed) LOUISE."

Second Letter.

"AUGUST 9th, 1814.

"I thank you very much for all the trouble you have taken about my boxes. What you write me concerning the remarks of M. de Bombelles on this subject does not seem to portend much good. I am still in the most painful uncertainty as to my future fate. I sent a letter by M. de Karaczaï to my father in which I asked him for permission to establish myself at Parma on Sept. 10th at the latest. Will this be granted to me? I fear not. If my presentiment is wrong I will let you know at once so that you can send for Madame de Méneval and her children. I know that will please you. It will be very hard for you to have to pass the winter without having seen them, and I should be very sorry for you. If the answer is a negative one I shall never consent to return to Vienna, before the departure of the sovereigns, and I shall try to have my son back. I shall establish myself in Geneva or in Parma whilst awaiting the congress; but it is impossible for me to remain here after the season is over. I cannot tell you with what impatience I am awaiting an answer. I want you to help me with your advice in my determination. Do not be afraid to tell me the truth if my determination appears inconsistent to you. I want your advice as from a friend, and I hope you will give me your opinion quite frankly. I have just received a letter from the Emperor from the Island of Elba, dated July 4th. He begs me not to go to Aix, but to go to Tuscany to take the waters. I shall write about this to my father. You know how anxious I am to do what the Emperor wishes. In this case ought I to do it if it is not in harmony with my father's intentions? I send you a letter from Porto-Ferraio. I was very much tempted to open it. It would have given me some particulars. If it contains any particulars please let me know them. I thank you very much for those you gave me, I wanted them badly, for it

was a long time that I had been without news. Generally speaking I am in a very critical and in a very unhappy condition. My conduct has to be full of prudence. There are some moments when my head is so troubled that I think the best I could do would be to die . . . . . My health is fairly good. This is my tenth bath. They would do me good if my mind were easier. I shall not be happy until I have got out of this fatal state of uncertainty. I am very pleased to think that you will soon be here, to reason to me, and calm my poor head. I need it badly. M. de Bausset left some days ago, taking with him all the papers which I wanted to see, so that I have not been able to examine all this month's accounts as I had a wish to do. I am awaiting the couriers which he sent from Parma with impatience. I did not carry out all the extravagances which I had planned for the 28th. I had Madame de Brignole to *goûter* *, but when the moment came for carrying out my plans I was afraid that they might not be very successful and so I gave them up. I am sure you will laugh at my cowardice. The account of my journey which I am writing has only got as far as my visit to the Bossons Glaciers. The other day at the ball we were speaking about it and about my plan of having it printed, and Madame Hurault added: "Yes, with M. de Méneval's little printing press." Somebody whom she did not know said behind her: "M. de Méneval has got a printing press! That is worth knowing." M. Hurault† informed me of this remark, and begged me to let you know of it; so that you can get rid of your press as soon as possible, or send it to Parma with my carriage. I am told that a very heavy penalty is inflicted on private individuals who are detected with printing presses. Imagine what it would be in your case who have been working so long in the Emperor's cabinet. It worries

* *Goûter* is a light repast taken between meals, usually at four or five o'clock in the afternoon.—R. H. S.

† M. Hurault de Sorbée, who has since become a general, was accompanying his wife, who belonged to the Empress's household.

me; I can assure you that I shall not be at ease until I hear you have got rid of it.

"Your affectionate

"MARIE LOUISE."

"P.S. My son is wonderfully well and gets sweeter every day, according to what they write me. I am very anxious to see the poor child again."

Third Letter.

"This AUG. 15th, 1814.

. . . . . .

. . . . . .

"I have had no answer yet from my father to the letter which I spoke to you about in my last. This uncertainty seems to me very cruel and very long. I am awaiting for the answer with a great deal of impatience and I will let you know about it at once. I have a black presentiment that it will be nothing pleasant to hear, but I am in one of my sad moods to-day, so maybe I am mistaken. How can I be happy on the 15th when I am obliged to pass this feast-day, so solemn to me, far from the two persons who are dearest to me. I beg your pardon for thus speaking to you of my sad thoughts, but the friendship and the interest which you have always shown for me embolden me, provided you will let me know when I bore you. I beg you to believe in my sincere friendship.

"Your affectionate

"LOUISE."

"P.S. I have just received a letter from Parma which informs me that M. de Marescalchi has been replaced by M. de Magawly, who has just upset the entire Provisional Government. M. de Marescalchi is now nothing but Austrian ambassador at my court. My father has also appointed M. de San Vitale as my grand chamberlain, and that without consulting me. This grieves and vexes me. M. Magawly said in

Parma that my father had sent M. de San Vitale to go to Vienna to fulfil his functions in my service, and that I should be invited to go to Vienna during the whole period of the Congress. What a sad prospect! I have half a mind to ask him to allow me to spend the winter in Florence, promising him to write to the Emperor only through the Grand-Duke. It seems almost certain that he will refuse. But about one thing my mind is made up. I will not go to Vienna whilst the sovereigns are there. Advise me, I beg of you. I assure you I am much to be pitied."

Fourth Letter.

"This 15th AUGUST in the evening.

"I have just received your letter of August 9th. I am really much distressed at the time that letters take to come, one gets such old news. I send you a copy of a letter from Prince Metternich which will acquaint you with the news which M. de Karaczaï brought me. I am very unhappy indeed at the idea of being forced to return to Vienna, all the more so that no good reason for it is given to me. I do not think I shall go to Vienna before the end of September or the beginning of October. I shall leave here on Sept. 3rd or 4th and shall go to Geneva, and thence to Berne where I shall spend a fortnight, besides a week in Geneva, and after that I shall go on to Vienna. I am very vexed about this on Madame de Méneval's account. If you can bring her to Geneva she can follow you after her confinement. If you come and share my exile I know how tedious it will be for you, at the same time I am too selfish not to desire it. I want your advice, I need your conversation. You know all the confidence which I have in you. One of the pleasantest thoughts which I can have just now is the thought of keeping you by me.

. . . . . .

"I also send you a letter which came here for M. Amelin. Be good enough to send it on to him. As regards the pay-

master I can promise nothing: less now than ever, for you see I am consulted about nothing. I do not think it at all right, they ought at least to treat the unfortunate with a little delicacy of feeling. The Duchess will tell you a lot of things by word of mouth which I cannot write for I am very sad, although resigned. The hardest blow will be struck to-morrow when I have to say good-bye to the Duchess, but I do not complain. I ought to be accustomed to every possible misfortune. But what comforts me is the thought that there are still some good people who have pity for me, and I have pleasure in thinking that you are one of these. Begging you to believe in all my esteem and confidence.

"Your affectionate
"LOUISE."

Fifth Letter.

"This 20th of AUGUST in the evening.

"I received your letter of the 12th of this month yesterday, and I see with pleasure that you received some of my letters, but surely you must have received one in which I spoke of the wretched answer which my father gave me. I am very much touched by your offer to follow me under any circumstances whatsoever, and I stand in great need of good advice. It is more necessary to me now than ever, and so I hope I shall soon have the pleasure of seeing you again. I wish you to arrange it so that you will be deprived of Madame de Méneval's society as short a time as possible. I quite see how sad that would be, and I am afraid she will get to have a grudge against me. I have answered my father as well as Prince Metternich, and used fine phrases in writing to the latter about all the confidence I had in him, and I especially insisted on the satisfaction I felt in the promise which was given me that I could go to Parma. It appears that M. Magawly has made some very good changes and reformed many of the abuses of the Provisional Government.

I have received long letters from M. de Bausset which I will communicate to you when I return. I want to bother you with all my affairs. I have received news of the Emperor on August 6th. He speaks very well of you and begs me not to believe all that may be said against him. He was in good health, happy, and quiet, and was thinking greatly about my son and myself.

. . . . . .

"Write to me I pray you with great punctuality, and believe in all my friendship from

"Your very affectionate
"MARIE LOUISE."

I do not want to reproduce too large a number of the letters which I had the honour to receive from the Empress Marie Louise. The literal extracts which I have just given, suffice for the purpose which I had before me in quoting them. One month after the Empress's arrival in Aix, the Duchess de Montebello, MM. Corvisart and Isabey, left this city one after the other, the first two to return to Paris. M. Isabey went off to Vienna where he was to paint the portraits of the sovereigns assembled in the congress. After their departure the Empress remained another fortnight in Aix, anxiously awaiting the effect of the promises which had been renewed to her when she left Vienna.

The letter from Prince Metternich which was alluded to in one of the letters from Marie Louise, which I have reproduced, destroyed some of the Empress's illusions. This letter informed her that the possession of the sovereignty which had devolved upon her by the treaty was no longer certain and invited her in the Emperor's name to return to Vienna, and to put her interests into his hands. A letter from the Emperor of Austria

contained the same invitation. The Empress, abandoned to sad presentiments, losing a hope which she had entertained till then of being free to enjoy the independence of which she had dreamt, gave way to a new influence which shook the constancy of her attachment to the Emperor and persuaded her that she stood in need of other protection. She grew to think that by submission she might be able to remove the obstacles which stood in the way of her possession of Parma, and she resigned herself to obey orders which it was no longer in her power to avoid. General Neipperg, placed exclusively in her confidence, and who was to be united to her by much closer bonds later on, was commissioned to conduct her to Vienna.

Before continuing this narrative I desire to tarry over the first period of the life (still innocent, as I judged it) of a princess born with qualities which would have commended her to the respect of France, if Nature in endowing her with these qualities had added a greater firmness of character. Extraordinary circumstances had united her destiny to that of a great man. These bonds had been violently severed by the selfish and cold policy which had formed them, on the day when Napoleon was no longer to be feared. The faults into which Marie Louise fell must above all be imputed to those in whose hands she was the instrument of hatred and revenge. Our compatriots, under the influence of recent impressions, or of recollections the bitterness of which no revelations have come to temper, have blamed Marie Louise with almost unanimous reprobation. This anathema, I can assert, would grieve the Emperor Napoleon were he still living. The woman whom he honoured with his alliance, to whom he owed some happy days, the

mother of his much beloved son, the woman of whom he never ceased to speak with generous kindness, who was passive but not aggressive towards him, whose difficult situation he appreciated, whose long struggles he took into consideration, has a right to some indulgence on our part also. Let us reserve our indignation for those who have caused and hurried on her downfall.

I left Paris on September 6th, but in spite of the haste with which I travelled I could not reach Geneva before the morning of the 9th. I proceeded without waste of time to Secherons where the Empress was living since she had left Aix, and I was received by her in an extremely friendly manner. She was just about to leave for Berne, and then to undertake an excursion in the Oberland. Her plan was to visit several parts of Switzerland and to prolong her stay so as to arrive as late as possible in Vienna. She was good enough to ask me to accompany her on her excursions, and appointed a meeting at Berne. I had occasion to congratulate her on the happy state of mind in which she seemed to be. Countess de Brignole, several persons of her household, and General Neipperg, who had attached himself to her footsteps in order to carry out the mission which he had received, were with her at Secherons. I saw her a short time at Secherons and she put off, until her arrival in Berne, the opportunity of speaking to me about a number of things which she wished to discuss minutely with me. On leaving her I heard that an officer, who is a General to-day, the husband of one of her *dames d'annonce*, who had arrived some days previously from the Island of Elba, had brought her a letter from the Emperor. This officer was com-

missioned to conduct her to the Island of Elba, where she was expected, but he left for Paris on the day before my return without having been able to fulfil his mission.

After having rested a day at Secherons I went to spend a day at Prangins, an estate situated a distance of four leagues from Geneva, on the shores of the lake, where the excellent Queen Julia, wife of Joseph Bonaparte, had recently arrived with her children. I was very anxious to see this noble and virtuous family once more. They had received me in my youth with very much kindness, and with them I had spent many happy days at Mortfontaine. I had not seen the Prince or the Princess since I had taken leave of them at Orleans. I found King Joseph just as he had always been, aimable and unpretentious, returned like Cincinnatus to his plough, much more taken up with the details of his rustic life and his brother's future fate, than with the remembrance of the brilliant and stormy career, which he himself had just brought to a close. Joseph Bonaparte loved Napoleon as much as he had admired him. There existed between the two brothers a sympathy which the difference in their characters, apart from the bond of fraternity, no doubt contributed to strengthen.* Napoleon, a mighty mind

*Some doubts have been cast on Napoleon's fraternal sentiments and his tenderheartedness. The following letter shows how little those who judge him thus knew him. It is addressed to Joseph Bonaparte and dated Messidor, year III. The original letter bears the trace of the tears which fell from his eyes as he was writing it:

"In whatever position fortune and events may place you, you know well, my friend, that you can have no better friend, dearer to you, or more sincerely desiring your happiness. Life is a light dream which fades away. If you are leaving and you think it will be for some time send me your portrait. We have lived so many years together, so closely united that our hearts have melted into one. Better than anybody you

carried on to splendid actions by the sublimity of his genius, can be compared to nobody. The glory of brilliant enterprises which would not have been above his faculties did not tempt Joseph Bonaparte's ambition; but he knew how to display in business, when once he was engaged in it, the activity and energy which it demanded. To the negotiations which occupied the first period of his political career he had brought the lights of a keen and profound mind, clear and easy eloquence of discussion, and a straightforwardness which was proof against anything. He displayed the same talents and the same qualities in his administration of the two countries which he was called upon to govern. A gentle philosophy, the qualities of a gentleman, a straightforward heart, a noble character would have drawn attention to him in any condition of life, and as the Emperor used to say, would have made him the ornament of society.

The difference in the characters of the two brothers is characterized by a remark which was sometimes addressed to me by Napoleon as First Consul, before Joseph Bonaparte had consented to take an active part in this system. "Why is Joseph with all his talents so lazy?" Napoleon applied the term laziness to the moderation which kept his brother away from the pompous cares and brilliant chains of a rank which is the object of the envy of almost all mankind.

know how entirely my heart is yours. I feel as I write these lines an emotion which I have rarely experienced in the course of my life. I feel sure it will be a long time before I shall see you again. I cannot continue my letter; farewell my friend.

"NAPOLEON."

The sentiments which are expressed with such deep, expansive tenderheartedness in this letter which was autographed, never deviated. I often saw or heard the proofs of this.

King Joseph's wife was a type of goodness. In the most fragile frame she hid a strong mind, and a lofty reason. Her life was one continued exercise of kindnesses. The time she spent on the two thrones, (of which she said with very rare philosophy, that the woman who comes down from a throne is perhaps happier than she who ascends one,) was particularly distinguished by the fact that the sphere of her benevolence extended itself more widely.

This digression has taken me away from my subject. I allowed myself to be carried away by the pleasure of speaking of my host at Prangins, and of seeing friends, whom one is glad to find again, after the tempest is over. The time which I spent at their house passed rapidly, and I only arrived at Berne after the Empress. She had left word for me to follow her together with the itinerary of her journey up to the 21st. As at the same time she had been good enough to give me the choice of remaining in Berne, I preferred to do the latter. The Empress was followed in this journey by Count Neipperg, and by one of this General's officers. Countess de Brignole, and one of the *dames d'annonce* were the only French people who accompanied her on this journey.

On my way from Prangins to Berne I stopped at Payerne. Just as I was leaving I was told that a traveller who had passed the night in the hotel wished to speak to me. I followed the host, who conducted me to a room, where I was as surprised as I was pleased to find King Louis, who was travelling in Switzerland under the name of Count St. Leu. I had not seen him since the marriage festivities, not even at Blois, where I had not been acquainted with his presence until the moment when he

had left the town. He was in bed, and was suffering greatly from the disease, which had only grown worse as years went on. I spent an hour by his bedside. He spoke to me of recent events with bitter regret, and of his brother with sentiments of true affection. He was still under the sad impression of the Emperor's attempt on his life at Fontainebleau, and judged the immensity of his unhappiness by this desperate action. He said that Heaven, which had prevented so great a disaster, doubtless reserved him for fresh glories, but also for fresh trials. "If Louis XVIII. had killed himself" he added, "he would not be to-day in the palace of the Tuileries." Count St. Leu was that day a prophet without knowing it. He charged me with a letter for the Empress, and I left him very pleased with the unexpected hazard of this meeting.

Whilst awaiting the Empress's return I made some excursions, having nothing else to do, in the pretty country round Berne. On the 21st, which was the day on which Marie Louise was to return from the glaciers, in my impatience to see her again I went to meet her at Thun. I found her well pleased with her journey which according to those who accompanied her had been a fatiguing one, but she had not suffered much thereby. She was kind enough to come and see me at Madame de Brignole's house where I had alighted. I followed her into her apartment and she said the kindest things to me about my return and the mark of affection which I had given her in leaving my family to follow her. She spoke to me at length of the difficulties which were put in the way of her establishment in Parma, and of the bitter regret which she felt at being obliged to return to Vienna, where her position during the

congress would be most equivocal. I spoke to her of the Emperor; she said she had received no news of him since the arrival of Colonel Hurault, and that she had been unable to comply with Napoleon's request that she should join him on the Island of Elba without having consulted her father, whose intentions must have been known to him since reading the letter from Prince Metternich, which she had sent him. It was Count Neipperg, as one may well think, who had pointed out this objection to her. Marie Louise had heard, during her journey, of the death of the Queen of Sicily, her grandmother, who succumbed to a night attack of apoplexy. This princess had tried in vain to reach the bell-pull, and when she was found in the morning, it was seen that her hand was stretched out to grasp it, but had not been able to reach it. So as not to sadden the pleasures of the congress with a spectacle of mourning, it was decided in a lofty place, that the official notification of the death of the Emperor Francis's mother-in-law should not be made till its close. Thanks to this fiction, which left the dead queen still living, the festivities were not interrupted.

The Empress spent two days in Berne. She received the Princess of Wales, who had stayed there to see her on her way to Rome where she intended to spend the winter, and invited her to dinner. The princess seemed to be about forty-five years old at that time. She was short and very fat, she had large pronounced features, and eyes which rightly or wrongly, betrayed some of the adventures which were generally attributed to her. Her suite was composed of a lady-in-waiting and four officers. I admit that I was very curious indeed to see this

princess who became historical by the scandal with which the English filled Europe, concerning her and the Prince Regent. The evening was of the gayest. We had some music with General Neipperg at the piano. The Empress asked the Princess to sing, and she consented to do so, on condition that Marie Louise should sing with her. The Empress said that she was so timid that she was unable to bring forth a sound, when anybody was listening to her. The Princess encouraged her, saying that as far as she was concerned she was never frightened except for her friends. As a matter of fact, and to tell the truth, she sang with a voice of which I will say nothing, except that it really showed this princess's courage. One of her plans was to go and visit the Emperor at Elba. She was travelling with a child about twelve years old which had a very pretty face. She had not brought him to the Empress's house. This was the famous "Austin" who was so much spoken about in the memoirs published under her name, memoirs which she publicly disavowed as a libellous pamphlet. She said that she did not know who was this child's father, but she loved it just as much as she loved her daughter.

She was dressed in an ample white muslin dress trimmed with lace; her head was adorned with a large veil, rather like those worn by the priestesses of Greek tragedies, which covered her waist, her shoulders, and both sides of her bosom. This veil was fastened with a diadem of diamonds. She also wore a magnificent necklace of several rows of pearls and travelled in this array. Apart from this, in spite of her figure and dress, which frankly might be styled curious, the Princess of Wales had the appearance of an excellent

woman, simple, straightforward and putting everybody at his ease. Her lady-in-waiting's figure was not less singular than her mistress's. The officers were of very good appearance; one of them was the son of a celebrated Englishwoman, Lady Craven, who married the Margrave of Anspach; the other two were young officers of the Prince of Wales's regiment; the fourth was Doctor Holland, who was said to be a very good doctor.

We left Berne to return to Vienna, travelling through the small cantons. The Empress was accompanied by General Neipperg and his adjutant Hrabowski, Countess de Brignole, Madame Héreau and her husband, etc., etc. M. de Cussy had returned to Paris; M. de Bausset and Madame Hurault de Sorbée, one of the two *dames d'annonce* who had followed the Empress on her departure from Paris, had preceded her to Lindau where they were awaiting her with the carriages.

Marie Louise desired also to visit the ruins of the castle of Rudolph de Hapsburg. General Neipperg, charged to recall her to the seductions of her native land, could not dispense her from a visit to the cradle of the founder of the house of Austria. He even declared that a piece of iron which he found there was a fragment of Rudolph's lance. The Empress lent herself complacently to this fiction. Little pieces of this iron cut up were used for the settings of some rings which she had made in Vienna and which she gave to General Neipperg, M. de Bausset and myself as the insignia of a new order of knighthood and to Madame de Brignole as a souvenir of this journey. The Empress took so much pleasure in all her excursions that I had reason to expect that her journey

would be prolonged. I understood only too well how disagreeable her position would have been in Vienna to be surprised at this, but I was impatient to get there. The necessity of getting the letters which were waiting for me in this city, and my interest in their contents, made it imperative for me to return; I was moreover of no utility whatever to the Empress. After having urged me to continue, she was good enough to yield to my arguments, and grant me permission to go. I left her at Schweitz; but to my great surprise she arrived at Schönbrunn three days after me, on the feastday of the Emperor Francis, to whom she had given me a letter.

She had made her way to Vienna from Schweitz, by Saint-Gall, Constance, Munich, and Braunau. She had passed the night in the last town, her memory taking her back four years, when she had been received there as Empress of the French, and when she left it to go and take triumphant possession of a throne the glory of which she came to share. What feelings must have agitated her on finding herself back in this town in so different a position!

She had the pleasure of embracing her son, who had remained at Schönbrunn with Madame de Montesquiou. The young prince was tender and caressing towards her; he was in a flourishing state of health and had not suffered from the slightest indisposition during his mother's absence. The Emperor Francis came to see his daughter as soon as he had heard of her arrival. The Empress of Austria, who was somewhat indisposed by the fatigues of the various ceremonies in which she had been forced to appear, had remained in Vienna. The way in which Count Neipperg had fulfilled his

mission was approved of by Their Majesties, for he was at once appointed to act as chamberlain to the Duchess of Parma during the Congress.

Marie Louise found all the sovereigns assembled in Vienna. The kings of Denmark, Bavaria, Wurtemberg and other princes had preceded the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia there. These sovereigns had made their solemn entry into Vienna, on September 25th, 1814, accompanied by the Emperor of Austria who had gone to meet them and followed by the whole of his court. The imperial family of Austria had received all these sovereigns in a magnificent manner. The Emperors and the Kings lodged in the imperial palace where they were entertained with the most sumptuous hospitality. The expense which the assembly of these various princes occasioned to the court was enormous. Fifteen hundred servants and twelve hundred horses were added to the imperial household. Carriages with horses constantly put to and saddle horses were at the service of each sovereign and the officers of his household. Each had a private table sumptuously served at the Emperor's expense. Dinner was served at two in the afternoon, and supper at ten in the evening. Splendid fêtes diverted these noble guests from their political labours, for the Congress had not yet been opened at the time of which I am speaking. It was only to last a few weeks, to settle the interests of the secondary German states, the treaty of Paris having vested the great powers with the territories which they had adjudged themselves and put them in possession of the same.

The Empress Marie Louise, confined with her son in the château of Schönbrunn, lived there in absolute retire-

ment, a stranger to all the amusements and display which surrounded the sovereigns in Vienna. She awaited the day when justice should be done to her, relying on the faith of a treaty and on her father's feelings. Five days after her return to this château, a fête was given there at which all the sovereigns were present. There were drives in open carriages in the gardens, a theatrical performance, and supper in the orange-house. The Empress remained shut up in her apartments all day long, not daring to go out for fear of meeting faces whose triumphant expression would have contrasted too strongly with the obscurity of the position which had been forced upon her. Although the sight of the amusements which celebrated events which had been so disastrous for her could not but afflict her, she had nevertheless curiosity enough to enjoy the sight of the court ball incognito, watching it through a window let into the attic of the grand hall of the palace of Vienna. Four years ago she had been the queen of a brilliant fête given in this same hall on the occasion of her marriage. The reflections which the contrast of her past greatness with her present situation awoke in her should have sufficed to make her turn her back for ever on such sights. At the same time her want of occupation and the need of emotions caused by souvenirs, although these were importunate, sometimes attracted her back to them.

Marie Louise was presented to the Empress of Russia by the Empress of Austria, and the same time returned the visit of the Grand-duchesses of Russia, who had called on her at Schönbrunn first, two days after her arrival. The sovereigns were waiting for somebody to break the ice before going to call upon

her. The King of Bavaria had said that if the Emperor of Russia would set the example they would all follow it. Alexander's gallantry, or rather his vanity, had no need of any such stimulus. He came to Schönbrunn with the Austrian general, Count Hardegg; the kings and princes followed.

The Empress received the kings and queens, the princesses and princes whom the Congress had assembled in Vienna, one after the other. She also admitted to pay their court the same persons whom she had seen before her departure for Aix. Prince de Ligne was one of the most attentive. He was an old man of eighty, whom time seemed to have forgotten. His straight figure, above the middle height, his noble gait, even his Fieldmarshal's uniform and the grace with which he used a stick, which he did not seem to want for the purpose of support, gave an air of distinction to his person. His head was crowned with a forest of grey hair, the parasite denizens of which used sometimes to stray out on to the chairs on which he sat. He had a fine face, but his sodden eyes did not betoken the keen wit and power of vivacious repartee which won for him a European reputation. I remember one of his good sayings about the Emperor, whom he described as afflicted with a satyriasis for glory; the saying was in conformity with the style of wit in vogue at the Congress.* Prince Lambesc, whose

* Charles Joseph, Prince de Ligne, was born May 12th, 1735, an Austrian statesman and general, witty writer, became a fieldmarshal in 1808. He died very shortly after the congress alluded to, on December 13th, 1814, in Vienna. Amongst other works he wrote: *Mélanges militaires, littéraires*, etc., published between 1795 and 1811 and forming a collection of 34 volumes. His "Works" were published in 1860 in four volumes. The best biography is by Thuerheim, published in 1876.—R. H. S.

name is inseparable from the first events of the Revolution of 1789, used also to come rather often to present his homage to the Empress Marie Louise. He used to wear long riding-boots, covered with a varnish which he asserted that he prepared himself, but the smell of which did not say much in favour of his olfactory nerves.*

On her return to Schönbrunn she resumed the mode of life which she had followed during her first stay. We took our meals, so to speak *en famille*, in dress coats and top-boots. Walks, some visits, billiards, music were the chief amusements of this familiar country-house life. Tuesdays and Saturdays were devoted to some invitations, as the Empress wished to be free during the rest of the week. She used to leave Schönbrunn almost every day at one o'clock to go and see her father; sometimes she would take her son with her. This young prince was only taken to the Empress of Austria on solemn occasions, on feast or birthdays. The youngest of the Emperor's sons, Archduke Francis, whose age most nearly approached his nephew's, used to come rather often to Schönbrunn to spend a few days with him. Marie Louise met with real kindness towards herself and her child only from her father and her sisters. The rest of the imperial family did not take the interest in the child which was due to his age and his position. The Empress and her brothers-in-law spoke of nothing less than making a bishop of him; the Emperor was sometimes obliged

* As to the performances of Lambesc (1751—1825) see *inter alia* Carlyle's French Revolution, Chap. IV, Book V: "Will the Bust Procession pass that way? Behold it; behold also Prince Lambesc dash forth on it, with his Royal-Allemands! etc."—R. H. S.

to force them to keep silence. These hostile sentiments against Napoleon and his son were shared by a crowd of subaltern agents and writers whom the sharing of the spoils of the French Empire had attracted to Vienna, and found an echo in a certain class of Viennese. During one of the Empress's visits to one of the foreign princesses, a crowd of sightseers, who had gathered round her carriage, expressed their opinion that it was very bad taste on her part to have retained the Imperial French arms on the panels of her carriages and on the buttons of her servants' liveries. These remarks obliged Marie Louise to change them.

Her uncles rarely came to see her. The youngest, Archduke Rudolph, who under the appearance of health, hid a complication of diseases, took advantage of the moments when these diseases left him at peace to visit his niece. He was very amiable and very gentle, his constant sufferings had given an expression of melancholy to his features. He was a great musician and painted agreeably. Sometimes he would improvise on the piano and whilst doing so would often be attacked by a nervous attack, the violence of which used to make him faint.

The Emperor of Austria, accompanied by the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia left at the end of October for Hungary. The Emperor Alexander showed himself at the Emperor Francis's side, on his entry into Buda, dressed in a Hungarian uniform. The Austrian monarch's confidence taken in connection with the secret designs attributed to the Czar on some of the provinces of Hungaria, seemed imprudent to the Hungarians attached to the house of Austria.

We had reached the last days of October and the

Congress had not yet set to work, which justified Prince de Ligne's well-known saying: "The Congress dances but does not go." At the same time, in the midst of the tumult of balls, banquets, and amusements of every kind which each day brought with it, the most serious questions were being debated; but they were so complicated, and so divergent were the interests at stake, that it was difficult to establish the bases on which to found the drafting of the various definite treaties. The Empress's interests were subjected to the same oscillations. On her return to Vienna there began for her a series of vicissitudes, the object of which was to gain time, and to complicate the question of the possession of the duchies of Parma. The Vienna Cabinet pretended to decline, from a feeling of delicacy, to listen to any proposal in favour of Marie Louise. The Emperor Alexander protested his intention of maintaining the stipulation of the Fontainebleau treaty of April 11th, which assured the sovereignty of Parma to the Empress; the politics of Russia were not interested in this question. Prussia and England only attached but slight importance to it. The government of Louis XVIII. and Spain on the other hand manifested the most violent opposition. Marie Louise once so lofty had fallen so low that she and her son could be disposed of without consulting her. The interest which she could hope for was purely gratuitous; it could only become efficacious by a docility on her part which would suffice to dissipate the mistrust which as the wife of Napoleon she inspired. The only prince who seemed to defend her cause, then, was Alexander, who never lost an opportunity of parading chivalrous sentiments. The lady who had been Empress of the

French played in Vienna the rôle of a suitor who has no access to her judges, whose family, though strong enough to defend her, observes a despairing neutrality, and who has no support but the interested zeal of a friend and the protection of a powerful man, anxious rather to do himself credit by his good offices than to render her real services.

Her declared adversaries were the Spanish plenipotentiaries. The former Queen of Etruria, charged with the guardianship of her son, not having been able to obtain for him the restitution of Tuscany, ceded in 1801 to the Infant of Parma, her husband, had thrown herself back on the duchies of Parma, the paternal inheritance of this son. This princess's claims were supported by the Spanish legation with an obstinacy, to which the most hostile feelings against the Emperor Napoleon gave fresh force; the French plenipotentiaries favoured this pretension. The Austrian Cabinet, whose policy tended to the invasion of the Italian peninsula, strongly desired, though without letting it be seen, to see an Austrian Archduchess in possession of the duchies of Parma, amongst which Piacenza moreover afforded a strong military position. The Emperor Francis, however, to whom his cabinet wished to give the merit of disinterestedness or whose scruples it apparently wished to respect, offered to leave the decision as to his daughter's interests in the hands of the allies, as well as the settlement of the indemnity to which she was entitled. He carried his abnegation to the point of consenting to the proposal made by France that this indemnity should be taken out in fiefs in Bohemia, known by the name of the Bavarian Palatinates, belonging to the Grand-duke of Tuscany, with reversion

to the Emperor Francis's domain. These fiefs were later on assigned to Napoleon's son, in compensation for the succession to the States of Parma which was refused to him. These estates consisted of lands situated in the Buntzlau, Czaslau, Klattau, Leumeritz and Raconitz districts.

The estimated value of these estates and the revenues derived therefrom valued in currency, Vienna rate, represented a capital of thirteen millions, three or four hundred thousand francs and a revenue of about six hundred thousand francs, French currency. This concession on the part of Austria was never made in earnest. The cession to the son of the Queen of Etruria of the duchy of Lucca, with the enjoyment of an annual income of five hundred thousand francs charged on these estates, the fee-simple of which was not alienated, definitively assured to the Empress Marie Louise the integral life possession of the States of Parma.

The pretensions raised by the Court of Spain did not displease the allied sovereigns who were not reassured by the prospect of the establishment of the wife of Napoleon in Italy. They provided the text of new arguments which were employed with success to obtain from her that she should at least appear indifferent to the Emperor's prospects. It was pointed out to her that any suspicion of complicity with him would deprive her for ever of the advantages which the friendly feeling of Austria reserved for her, the loss of which would not only have been injurious to her but also to the Austrian Empire. These considerations skilfully placed before her, the fear inspired into the Empress of injuring her father, her respect for whom increased in proportion to the affection, sterile as it was in appearance, that he mani-

fested towards her, the impossibility demonstrated to her of ever being reunited with the Emperor, the Austrian public opinion which influenced her, so to say, on every side, found her without defence. Later on it was tried to push her docility to its extreme limits and to induce her to make a public manifestation against the Emperor, but this she refused to do. This was a concession to old memories, weak it is true, but not yet effaced.

At the same time, General Neipperg, whose functions as chamberlain, Grand Equerry, and chargé d'affaires attached him to the inner service of the Empress, was busying himself to assure her the free possession of the sovereignty which the treaties had granted to her. He made use of his influence with the Prime Minister, wrote memoranda, and pleaded her cause with ardour. The Emperor arranged for interviews between his daughter and his all-powerful minister, so that she might speak to him of her affairs. Each day there was a fresh story: to-day Parma was assured to her, on the morrow it had been given to somebody else. These alternatives of fear and hope kept her anxiety alive and had the effect of disposing her for the sacrifices which were demanded of her and of increasing her desire to have her fate decided upon. They seemed calculated to aggravate the sad effects of the change which this dependent and undignified position had brought about in her ideas about France.

General Neipperg came almost every day, in the evening, to dine and play music at Schönbrunn; he afterwards returned to Vienna. His every nerve was strained towards one single object, to succeed in the mission with which he had been charged to

make the Empress forget France and in consequence the Emperor. The progress which he succeeded in making in the Princess's confidence recommended him to the gratitude of the Austrian Cabinet. As a natural consequence the French, especially those whose attachment to the Emperor Napoleon was well known, were badly looked upon. The suspicion which they aroused had caused them to be excluded from any public post in Parma; if the Empress went there, no Frenchman was to follow her. She would only go under the guardianship of an Austrian minister, with an Austrian governor, who alone would be admitted to her confidence and to the direction of public business. The bishop of Piacenza, M. Fallot de Beaumont, made useless endeavours to preserve the episcopal see to which he had been appointed by Napoleon. Count San Vitale was introduced to Marie Louise as Grand Chamberlain of the Duchy of Parma, in the course of November, and this revived her hopes. This seemed to her the effect of General Neipperg's energetic measures, and a foretoken of her speedy occupation of the throne of Parma. By this general's advice she addressed letters to the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia to commend her interests to their attention. These letters which were approved of by her father were carried by Neipperg. The General at the same time was commissioned to make a verbal communication on the subject to Lord Castlereagh who showed himself well disposed. Without admitting Count Neipperg to their presence the two princes answered the letters of the Empress. Alexander's answer was in harmony with the character which he assumed in public. It contained promises expressed in kindly terms. The King of Prussia's

letter contained nothing but vague and general assurances. Lord Castlereagh, who had answered General Neipperg by word of mouth, did not think it necessary to write; but a week later presented himself at Schönbrunn, with his brother Lord Stewart, in ordinary riding costume, top-boots, and a whip in his hand. Not having been received they asked to write down their names and being told that that was not the custom they withdrew. The English minister made a large use of the protectorate, in harmony with the way of thinking of the British Cabinet, and thought no doubt that an archduchess who had become the wife of the Emperor Napoleon had on that account lost her rights to any kind of respect. The assurances of the Agamemnon of the coalition and England's toleration gave the Empress some kind of security. Parma seemed likely to be assured to her in the future. There remained the question—a capital question in her eyes—to know whether she would be allowed to reside there.

CHAPTER VI.

Annexation of the State of Genoa to the Kingdom of Sardinia—Death of Prince de Ligne—Confiscation of Saxony to the Profit of Prussia—Anniversary of the Empress Marie Louise's Birth—Letter of Fouché to Prince de Metternich—The Emperor of Austria Makes His Daughter Promise Not to Correspond with Her Husband Without His Permission—Napoleon's Letter to Marie Louise is Handed to Her After Having Been Communicated to the Congress—I Find Opportunities Amongst the Viennese Merchants for Forwarding my Letters—Marie Louise's Occupations—Count Neipperg's Memorandum on Italy—The Prince of Parma's Precocity—New Year's Day, 1815—Twelfth Night Cake—Madness of the Tutor of the Hereditary Prince of Austria—Reading Werner's Tragedies—Anniversary of January 21st Celebrated in Vienna—Sledge Races—Misunderstanding in the Congress—M. de Talleyrand's Efforts to Deprive Marie Louise of the States of Parma—Terror Inspired to the Allies by the Vicinity of the Island of Elba—Orders Given for the Recruitment and Reinforcement of the Allied Armies—Efforts of France to Dispossess King Joachim—Forged Letters Produced by Lord Castlereagh in the English Parliament—Friendly Demonstration of the Emperor Alexander Towards Prince Eugene—This Prince's Opinion on the Continental System—His Dislike for English Society—He Seeks for Popularity in Vienna—Marie Louise's Little Court is Diminished—The Princess is Made to Fear that She will not Possess the Duchy of Parma—She Agrees that the Duchy Shall not Descend to Her Son—Alexander's Proposal in Favour of Prince Eugene—The Ionian Islands Remain Vacant for a Short Time—Indifference of This Monarch to the Bourbons—He Promises to Support the Empress—Ill-will of the French Legation—M. de Montesquiou's Arrival in Schönbrunn—Letter from the Emperor Written from the Island of Elba—Illness of Madame de Brignole, and M. de Bausset—The Emperor Alexander's Wager with a Viennese Lady—Armament Projected by France for the Expulsion of Joachim from the Throne of Naples—Apparent Neutrality of Austria—King Joachim's Determination to Attack Austria—Council Held with This in View at Ancona—Marie Louise Prevents Count Neipperg's Departure to Italy—Lord Wellington's Arrival in Vienna—First News of the Emperor's Departure from the Island of Elba—Sensation Caused by This Event—The Empress's Emotion—It is Thought in Vienna that the Emperor is Making His Way to Italy—Military Arrangements of the Austrian Government—The Festivities Cease—Silent Activity of the Congress—Investigations by the Viennese Police—Fruitless Application to the King of Saxony to Induce Him to Abandon His States—It is Heard that Napoleon has Landed in France—The Emperor of Austria's First Movement—Agreement Between the Allied Sovereigns to March Their Armies upon France Once More—Contradictory Reports on the Emperor's March—Marie Louise's Indecision as to What She Ought to Do—Plan for Separating Madame de Montesquiou from the King of Rome—The Sacrament is Administered to Madame de Brignole—Marie Louise's Declaration that She has Nothing to Do with the Emperor's Plans, that She Places Herself Under the Direction of the Allies—Declaration of March 13th Followed by the Treaty of March 25th—The Report of the Commission of the French Council of State on This Document—Marie Louise's Agitation—She Justifies What She has Done by Her Dependent

Position—Napoleon's Son is Conducted to Vienna—The States of Parma are Governed in the Name of Austria—M. de Talleyrand Closes His House and Declares that His Mission has Come to an End—M. de Besnardière Leaves for Paris—His Conduct in Paris—Madame de Montesquiou is Separated from Her Pupil—Her Son is Accused of Having Wished to Kidnap the King of Rome—Fouché's Intrigues—Madame de Montesquiou is Detained in Vienna with Her Son—New Letters from the Emperor Napoleon are Handed Over to the Austrian Cabinet—Arrest of Colonel Montesquiou on the Austrian Frontier—Marie Louise's Religious Exercises—News from Napoleon—Renewal of the Vow to Protect the Catholic Religion—Arrest of Princess Eliza—Orders to Arrest Other Members of the Imperial Family—A New Governess is Given to the King of Rome—Death of Madame de Brignole—The Emperor Alexander Acting as Quarter-Master to the Austrian Troops—Arrest of the Courier Sent to Paris from Prince Eugene—The Emperor Alexander's Excitement Against Napoleon—Italian Generals Sent to Hungary—M. de Talleyrand's Visit—The Allies' Mistrust of Him—Reflections—His Remark on General Lamarque—General Neipperg Leaves for Italy—M. de Montrond Arrives in Vienna Bearing Letters from Paris—M. de Stassart's Mission—Communication Transmitted by Him to the Emperor Napoleon—M. de Montrond at the French Embassy—Letter from the Duc de Vicence—My Answer—Particulars About Prince Eugene—Indemnities Allotted to Him—About a Fund Confided by the Emperor to M. Lavalette—Reasons Alleged by Marie Louise to Justify Her Abandoning the Rights of Her Son and Separating Herself from the Emperor—M. de Talleyrand's Antipathy for Causes Which He Believes to be Lost.

THE congress which had progressed so slowly was beginning to give signs of life, but nothing had been practically concluded, except the surrender of Genoa to Sardinia, which made Countess de Brignole say that it was little to the honour of her country that all the sovereigns of Europe should have assembled in Vienna to decide about its fate, and that that was the only reason for which they had come. Indeed that was all that the congress could boast about at that time, besides the death of the poor Prince de Ligne who had been finished off by the festivities. A much more grievous act—an act really iniquitous—was in preparation, namely the expulsion of the King of Saxony from his States. This good and unoffending prince, the most loyal and the most friendly of kings, in whom they were pitilessly persecuting the faithful and constant friend of Napoleon, protested against so revolting an

abuse of force. The alleged decision of the congress which was notified to him, handed over the government of the kingdom of Saxony to Prussian commissioners. The declaration made public by the king proclaimed his opposition. At the same time he made it public that he would never consent to surrender the states which he had inherited from his ancestors, nor would he accept any compensation or equivalent which might be offered to him. Generosity was this time in harmony with the politics of the French Cabinet. The French plenipotentiaries pleaded the King of Saxony's cause with force. The protection of France to which that of Austria was added, a noble and generous protest from the princes of Ducal Saxony, who declared that they would not accept any portion of territory taken away from the king of Saxony, a declaration made by the small German states against any kind of parcelling out of the German states, recalled the great powers to moderation. They contented themselves with depriving the King of Saxony of half his kingdom, the whole of which was swallowed up by Prussia. England who laid claim to the rôle of being alone the saviour of Europe prided herself on asking nothing for herself. The war and the treaty of Paris had realized her ambitious views. She had acquired Malta and the Ionian Islands in Europe, and had laid hands on almost all the French colonies. She had seized upon offensive and defensive points in all the seas which favoured her commerce and gave her the means of injuring the trade of other nations. She wished to establish her supremacy, and render her rôle as a continental power more important by peremptorily declaring that she raised her Electorate in Hanover to a kingdom, and that she increased this territory by such

of the neighbouring lordships as might best suit her. Venice had asked for her independence. Austria answered this demand by imposing her rule on this republic.

On Dec. 12th, the anniversary of the Empress's birthday, the foreign princesses sent her their compliments, according to the German custom. She had gone away to spend this day in Baden so as to escape the bother of visits and compliments. Two days previously the Empress of Austria had gone to Schönbrunn accompanied by the Archdukes and Archduchesses, Marie Louise's brothers and sisters, to celebrate the occasion *en famille*. The Emperor Francis who had announced his intention of being present had been detained in Vienna by unforeseen business and had been unable to come.

About this time Fouché wrote letters from Paris to Prince Metternich. Napoleon's former minister, bored at having nothing to do, wished to take part in all and to set his mark on everything. He wrote to the Austrian minister that there could never be a more favourable opportunity for establishing the Empress Regent in France; that the new government had so offended public opinion that if the Emperor's son riding on a donkey and led by a peasant were to make his appearance in Strasburg, the first regiment to which he would be presented would lead him to Paris without any obstacles being put in his way. I heard of these letters from Count Aldini to whom they had been shown by Prince Metternich. Count Aldini had been Minister Secretary of State to the King of Italy in Paris. The Austrian Cabinet who had feared his influence had summoned him to Vienna under the pretext of consulting him about Italian affairs. He had frequent opportunity of seeing the Prime Minister,

but rather to show himself than to work with him.

Since the letter which the Empress had written from Aix to the Emperor and which M. de Bausset had sent from Parma in the preceding month of August, all communications between her and the Island of Elba appeared to have been forbidden. I wished to know what reasons she had for not writing. Shortly after her return to Schönbrunn, whence I used to send news of the Empress and her son to the Emperor, I asked Marie Louise for a letter to enclose in mine. I then heard to my sorrow that Prince Metternich in the course of a long interview which she had had with this minister had made her promise not to carry on any correspondence with the Emperor without her father's consent, and to hand him the letters which she might receive. The Empress added that she had consented very much against her will to this cruel necessity, despairing of being able to do otherwise. One day, on her return from one of the daily visits which she paid to the Imperial palace in Vienna, she brought back a letter from the Emperor Napoleon dated November 30th which her father had handed her. The Emperor complained of the Empress's silence and begged her to write to him to give him news of herself and of his son. This letter had been four days in the hands of the Emperor of Austria. One of the Grand-duke of Tuscany's couriers had brought it. It had no doubt been shown to the sovereigns, for it was for this propose and in order to prove his good faith to his allies that the Emperor Francis had exacted from his daughter that all letters which her husband should write to her should be handed to him. The Empress did not answer because the permission to do

so had not been granted to her. I made up for her silence by writing myself.* The Emperor as soon as he had been informed that the privacy of his letters was no longer respected, and that the Empress had been forbidden to write to him, ceased writing. In spite of the minute supervision to which I was subjected, Napoleon had not remained without news of his wife and son. I used to write to him by every possible means. I found facilities amongst the Viennese merchants which I took advantage of to fulfil my duty. Some worthy merchants whose heart had not been hardened by politics, and who had lost nothing in business during the stay of the French at the time of the occupation in 1805 and 1809—I can say this without in any way diminishing the merit of their kind behaviour—lent themselves in a very friendly manner to forwarding the letters which I addressed to General Bertrand by way of Leghorn or Florence.

The Empress who since her departure from France had neglected her drawing took advantage of the presence of Isabey in Vienna to recommence her lessons. I have said that this clever artist had come to paint the portraits of the sovereigns, and he was, as a matter of fact, working at his picture of the assembly of the congress. This picture is as remarkable from the good likenesses of the people as from the clever way in which Isabey grouped them. His brush must often have fallen from his hand for he was engaged on a piece of work which must have been painful to a Frenchman. He used to sacrifice

* Thiers in his "History of the Consulate and the Empire" speaks highly of the fidelity with which de Méneval attended to the interests of his exiled master, and of the valuable services which he rendered him as a correspondent in Vienna.—R. H. S.

some hours of each week to go to the Empress and repeat the lessons by which she had so much profited.

The want of occupation, the influence of her recollections, favoured by the atmosphere in which she was living, prompted her also to seek relaxation in the childish amusements which had been familiar to her youth; she gave herself up to these frivolous and innocent pleasures when the bad weather interrupted her usual walks or her daily visits to the Imperial palace. Sometimes she would master her dislike for business and attend to the reports which were sent or read to her by General Neipperg, or by the minister who was governing the duchy of Parma, and who had come to Vienna for this purpose. The former read her one day a very serious memorandum, which she appeared to listen to with interest. It was a series of political and military considerations about Italy, in which the author had inspired himself rather with the political maxims of Themistocles, than with Aristides' principles of virtue. This project of one of the men who used to accuse Napoleon the loudest of iniquitous ambition, was *very useful* to Austria but at the same time very unjust. Count Neipperg's memorandum recommended the adoption in Italy of a confederative system, which in course of time would deliver up the whole Peninsula to Austrian rule, and cause all the little sovereignties which were not held by princes of the House of Austria to disappear imperceptibly. This memorandum might perhaps be found even now in the deed boxes of the Vienna Chancery. The annexation of the state of Genoa to the kingdom of Sardinia was the first step in the direction of the establishment of a confederation intended to unite the small Italian states

against France to the advantage of Austria. This enlargement of the territory of a prince who had always been our adversary. and the ally of our enemies, was destined in the opinion of the great powers to increase his means of action and to render him master of France's outlets in Italy. The purpose of the allies was in one word to turn against us the immense fortifications of Alessandria and protect Lower Italy from a French invasion by the sea.

My greatest pleasure was to pass a few hours in the young prince's apartment. His prettiness, his gentleness, the vivacity of his repartee were full of charm; he was about four years old at the time, strong, well-built, and in excellent health. Fair, abundant curly hair framed his fresh face, the regular features of which were animated by fine blue eyes. His intelligence was precocious and he was better educated than many children older than he was. Madame de Montesquiou, who never left him and who cared for him with a mother's solicitude, used to rise every morning at seven o'clock and begin his daily lessons immediately after prayers. Not only did the young prince read quite fluently, but he also knew a little history and geography and was acquainted with the first elements of knowledge. A certain Abbé Lanti, almoner to the French legation, used to come and talk Italian with him; a valet used to speak to him in German only. The child could already make himself understood in these two languages, but he greatly disliked speaking German which he found hard and unpleasant to pronounce.

New Year's day of 1815 revived remembrances of France in the Empress's heart, remembrances which had so roughly been repelled. In France New Year's

day is a solemn feastday; in Vienna it is little more than an ordinary day, for it is during the week that precedes it that people make presents to each other and that the compliments of the season are exchanged. The streets of Vienna are then filled with carriages and foot-passengers in Sunday clothes. The Viennese seem rather to bury the old year with honour than to celebrate the new. This return to the customs of our country made us think for a moment that France had not been altogether forgotten in Schönbrunn. The Empress received all the persons of her household after mass. She was so kind as to give me some charming articles of Viennese manufacture for my New Year's presents, adding one of those little coloured picture-cards which it is the custom to give in Germany, at certain periods in the year, and which conveyed the wish for a future better than the present and which might in some way resemble the past. Even General Neipperg showed himself attentive and affectionate.

On Twelfth-night the sovereigns assembled at a great banquet at the court. I forget which of them got the bean and was king of the feast. At Schönbrunn, the Empress gave a *goûter* to her son, her young brother Archduke Francis, and his sisters. The ephemeral royalty fell to her son; it was unfortunately the emblem of the royalty which had been bestowed on him at his birth.*

On the 12th the Empress went to return calls on

* On the Continent, Twelfth-night (*Le jour des rois*) is celebrated by a supper at which the "King's cake" is served. This cake contains a bean, and the person who finds this bean in his slice is proclaimed king of the feast and has the right to choose his queen amongst the ladies present.—R. H. S.

the Empress of Russia and the Grand-duchesses, on the occasion of New Year's day according to the Russian calendar which corresponds to January 13th of the Gregorian calendar.

About the same time Baron d'Erbeck, tutor of the Prince Imperial, who is Emperor to-day, had a violent attack of epilepsy in the midst of a drawing-room at court, as a result of which he fell into a state of furious madness, which caused his death shortly afterwards. This event produced a very strong impression on his august pupil; the matter was variously spoken about, various also were the comments made on the strange things which the tutor had said whilst in delirium, and which were only the utterances of a diseased mind. As far as I can remember he spoke about menaces of death or of an attempt that was to be made against the exercise of the Prince Imperial's intellectual faculties.

Abbé Werner, a great preacher, who was considered one of the first poets in Germany, was the author of tragedies which had a success of "runs". Being in Vienna, Count Neipperg thought it would give the Empress pleasure to hear this poet. The impression created by beautiful verses recited in an inspired manner, would tend to reconcile the princess to the German language. Several Archdukes, her uncles, and her two former Grand Mistresses, Mesdames de Colloredo and Lazanski, were invited to these readings; my ignorance of the German language dispensed me from attending them. Abbé Werner read his tragedy, *Cunégonde*. He was a man of exalted imagination, whose austere face gave him the appearance of a fanatic. At first a Lutheran, he had turned Roman Catholic; and had gone to Rome

ostentatiously to abjure his faith in the Pope's presence. *

We were awaiting the issue of the congress with impatience. It was expected to end each day, but the lofty persons who presided over it appeared to be too much taken up with ceremonies and festivities to pay much attention to business. On January 21st, the minister of France had the anniversary of the death of Louis XVI. celebrated in the cathedral of St. Stephen. The Archbishop of Vienna officiated with great pomp. All the sovereigns, in mourning garb, and the princesses wearing mantles of crape over their black dresses, were present at this ceremony in a pew of the choir. To divert the spectators of this lugubrious solemnity, the sovereigns gave the spectacle of a sledge-race conducted by themselves at Schönbrunn. Prince Eugene was invited to it. The château was crowded with people. Madame de Montesquiou and Madame de Brignole were forced to allow the sovereigns to go through their rooms on their way to the theatre. The Empress's apartment was alone respected. The great questions of the possession of Saxony and Poland disturbed the harmony which appeared to exist amongst the principal powers represented at the congress. By the treaties which the allies had concluded amongst themselves since Austria's desertion, when fortune favoured their arms,

* Frederick Ludwig Zacharias Werner, dramatic poet, born in Königsberg, November 18th, 1768, was employed in the Prussian civil service from 1793 to 1805, went over to Catholicism in Rome in 1811 and died in Vienna on January 18th, 1823, where he had acted as priest and preacher. His dramatic writings are powerful, but lack in clearness. His principal works are "*Die Söhne des Thals*," "*Das Kreuz an der Ostsee*," "*Martin Luther*" (this play was republished in 1876 by Julius Schmidt), and "*Der 24 Februar*" (the first tragedy of fatality). His complete works were published in 15 volumes between 1840 and 1841. Three biographies of Abbé Werner have been published, Hitzig (1823), Schuetz (1841), Duentzer (1876).—R. H. S.

it had been secretly agreed that the States of the great powers should be reconstituted as they had been before the wars, at the expense of the French Empire and even of the secondary states whose possessions might be to their liking. As long as the common adversary of the allies had remained standing they had been faithful to the motto "Union gives strength", but if the needs of conquest had united them, the sharing of the spoils was to divide them. The powers separated into several camps; it was whispered that secret treaties had been concluded between England and Austria, who later on admitted France thereto, against Russia and Prussia. France, in spite of or perhaps by reason of the skill of her representative, was the disinterested spectator of these redistributions of states. In spite of her benevolent rôle she did not obtain the concession of the slightest advantage; she did all in her power, on the contrary, to destroy the only French power that remained in Italy and to assure the rule of Austria. When it has been said that the French plenipotentiary had a personal interest in the preservation of the principality of Bénévent, which he owed to Napoleon's munificence, or in the large indemnity which he was to receive from the gratitude of the Bourbons of Naples, one has enunciated a fact so entirely in harmony with the well-known conduct and character of this minister that it is not possible to consider such an imputation as entirely libellous. M. de Talleyrand allied himself with the Spanish envoys to deprive the wife of his former master of the States of Parma, thrown to her in guise of alms; his zeal in favour of the House of Bourbon and legitimacy *devoured* him. The interests of the royal family of Naples outweighed the interests

of France, just as the interests of the people were sacrificed to the interests of the dynasties at the Congress; but all the efforts of France could not prevent the virtuous King of Saxony from losing halt his States.

One of the greatest cares of the powers assembled at the Congress was the fear with which the vicinity of the Island of Elba inspired them. Intrigues were set on foot in mysterious conferences, to act by violence or ruse against the redoubtable sovereign of this imperceptible speck in the Mediterranean. The French legation associated itself in the secret measures proposed against him and urged his transportation. Whatever may have been the resolutions taken concerning him, whatever may have been the reasons why all the troops of the coalition were kept under arms, certain it is that instead of being disarmed the foreign armies were, from the end of December, increased in number and put on a war-footing.

The great Russian army remained under arms. It was recruited and fully completed. A Polish army was organized, before the annexation of Poland to Russia, and a Russian corps marched on Posen; still larger corps received orders to advance on Hanover. Prussia drew up the troops which were stationed in the North of France and transferred the general headquarters to Brussels. At the same time her garrisons in Luxembourg, Coblentz, and Treves were increased. The King of Bavaria increased the corps which he had on the two banks of the Rhine by one third, and put the fortifications of Cleves and Juliers into a state of defence. The Dutch army was increased by several new battalions. Austria exerted the greatest activity

in her armaments, and great energy was displayed in the staffs of her army. By order of the aulic council of the Empire all the regiments of the Austrian Empire were put on a war-footing and fully completed. The purchase of several thousands of horses was ordered in the country to complete the parks of artillery and the military equipages. General Frimont's corps received orders to cross back to the left bank of the Rhine. And finally there was formed in Italy a reserve army of forty thousand men. The Austrian military lists placed the total effective forces of the Empire at four hundred and fifty thousand men. The official Gazette of Vienna, published in part an account of the military measures and preparations which had been adopted. An imperial decree: "that as passing from a state of war to a state of peace presented difficulties, it had appeared necessary to preserve a great army under the flags, and that in order to provide for the expenses caused by its maintenance, a tax of 50% was placed on the various branches of manufacture." Other clauses made public the fact that no soldiers would be discharged until the political situation had cleared up. One of the King of Bavaria's orders announced: "that affairs abroad having rendered it impossible to recall the troops who were outside the frontiers of the kingdom back to their garrisons, to put the army on a peace footing and to discharge the corps of volunteers, an extraordinary tax intended to meet the expenses of these troops would be levied."

The Vienna Gazette announced, in the month of December, that the sittings of the congress would be closed towards the end of January; then, towards the end of January the same paper stated that the sove-

reigns would not be able to leave Vienna until the end of February. It was again stated in this paper that it was impossible to say how long the stay of the sovereigns in the Austrian capital would last.

All these military movements and arrangements, which had been commanded from the middle of December, continued during the months of January and February. The reason for some of these arrangements might have been the taking possession of the various parcels of territory which had fallen to each of the allied powers, but no satisfactory explanation can be given for the rest. A curious book might be written on the secret history of the Vienna congress, a work of varied interest, well calculated to tempt the pen of some talented writer. Passions, abuses of power, jealousies, grudges, fear covered themselves with the brilliant varnish of the festivities. Balls and routs blinded the idlers to the real reasons of the apparent stagnation of business. The Austrian court must have found that the stay of the allies, from a financial point of view, was prolonging itself beyond measure. The expenses in which it was involved became as ruinous as a war would have been. This court would really have had a right to ask for some indemnity; it is true that it found sufficient compensation for its pecuniary sacrifices in the restitution of the provinces which it had lost.

The plenipotentiaries of Spain and France in most urgent notes demanded the expulsion of King Joachim. Already in the month of December the following proposal had been made, in a confidential way, to Lord Castlereagh by M. de Talleyrand, and had been eagerly approved of: "Europe assembled in congress

acknowledges King Ferdinand as King of Naples; all the powers mutually engage themselves one towards the other not to support, either directly or indirectly, any claim opposed to his right to assume this title."

At the same time the hostile steps taken against King Joachim by the two courts which were allied to the old reigning house of Naples, were personally only aimed against Austria, whose interest and whose views on this question—far from being definitely pronounced—remained, on the contrary, equivocal. The other great powers, who had influence at the congress, took very much less interest in a change of dynasty in Naples. What injured King Joachim the most in the mind of the allies was the suspicion that he remained secretly attached to the Emperor.

Lord Castlereagh laid copies of letters from Napoleon to King Joachim and the Queen, his wife, before the English Parliament, on May 2nd, 1815. The Minister wanted to prove by means of these letters that King Joachim in signing the treaty by which he had engaged to make common cause with the allies, had had no intention of fulfilling the obligations which he had contracted. It has been proved that these letters, handed by the French Cabinet to Lord Castlereagh, bore a date which was not the date of the time when they had really been written—that they referred to older occurrences, and that the text of some of them had even been forged.* Copies of the Emperor's letters, taken in 1814 or in 1815, from drafts which remained in the archives of the Imperial cabinet and which were left by Minister Blacas when Louis XVIII.

* I have been totally unable to discover on what evidence the author makes this statement.—R. H. S.

had left the Tuileries on March 19th, 1815, were found on the return from the Island of Elba. These copies were written on paper doubled lengthwise—one half being left blank, and the alterations which had been made in the text were marked with red ink. I saw them in June, 1815, and everybody else could have seen them as I did, as they were shown to anybody who wanted to convince himself of the fact. It was only when King Joachim had strong reasons to suspect the designs of the allies and of the Government of the Restoration against his crown that he thought of putting himself in a state of defence, by approaching Napoleon on the Island of Elba. When he could no longer doubt Austria's intentions of dethroning him Murat determined to act on the offensive.

The Emperor Alexander, accompanied by Prince Eugene with whom he used to walk out alone every day, used sometimes to come to Schönbrunn at the luncheon hour. He used to come without being announced, and would sit down to table next to the Empress in a familiar manner. He remembered having seen me at Tilsitt and Erfurth, showed himself very well disposed towards me, and gave me marks of his interest. He even made the offer through Prince Eugene that I should go to Russia, assuring me that I should find all the advantages that I had lost in France there. There was every conceivable reason for my not accepting this offer, but none the less I was very grateful to him for it. I do not know whether I have already mentioned what the Czar was good enough to tell me about the continental system, and the infallible ruin which would have resulted therefrom to England if this system could have lasted another year. Alexan-

der had come to this conviction after the visits which he had paid to the leading manufacturing establishments in that country and his conversations with the principal manufacturers.

He was thinking no doubt at the same time of the advantages of the impetus given to the industries of the various States of the continent and to Russian industry in particular, a result which alone would suffice to justify this great conception. There was a little bitterness in his tones when he spoke about England. He was not charmed with London society. He was specially shocked by the custom, which was then still in use, for the men to remain at the dinner table to drink after having sent the ladies off to the drawing-room. He sought after popularity in Vienna. In his walks abroad he used to salute all the officers he met and went up to them, sometimes shaking hands with them and saying flattering things. Always either in a dress or frock coat he used to go out and come in without allowing military honours to be paid to him. If a guard who did not know of this wish of his saw him coming, and recognizing him were about to present arms to him, he would motion to them to return into their guard-house and not to pay any attention to him.

The circle of Marie Louise's little court had greatly shrunken; it was almost entirely composed of General Neipperg and myself. Countess de Montesquiou used sometimes to come and join us, but not very often; in her scrupulous attachment to the duties of her place she did not wish to leave her pupil. From the beginning of the year Countess de Brignole had become very ill; she was forced to keep her room almost without interruption and often had to take to her bed.

M. de Bausset, on his side, was bedridden with a stubborn attack of gout which did not give him a moment's respite. Owing to the absence of these two persons, the Tuesday and Saturday receptions had been interrupted.

Towards the middle of February, when no doubt ought to have subsisted concerning the possession of the duchies of Parma, definitely acquired, General Neipperg took me aside and spoke to me with apparent emotion of the disquieting turn which the Empress's affairs were taking. On my expressing my surprise to him, at this sudden alarm, he told me that he had just had an hour's conversation with Prince Metternich on this subject and that the minister had made him understand, amongst other reasons which called the Empress's rights into question again, that it would be impossible for them to allow her son to go to Italy for the time being. He did not appear to doubt that the friends of the princess would entreat her to leave her son in Vienna, if his presence in Italy might injure her interests, reserving to herself the right to go and see him every year. This hint was calculated to give rise to the thought that the determination to deprive the young prince of the succession to the States of Parma had either been taken or was just about to be taken. On the morrow Count Neipperg, apparently thinking that he must convert me to his opinion, spoke to me of the matter again in the presence of M. de Bausset; at the same time he asked me to listen to his memorandum on the vicissitudes which the duchies had undergone, and on the inalienable rights of the House of Austria over these states. This memorandum and the one written by Baron de Wessemberg on

the same subject were handed to the Italian committee.

The Emperor Alexander, constant in his affection for Prince Eugene, pleaded his cause at the congress. He had at first thought of securing the Ionian Islands for him. It is a fact worthy of remark that in the dismemberment of a great Empire, when each of the sharing powers was urgently occupied in appropriating the fragments of it which best suited it, the Ionian Islands should have remained untouched for some time—left, so to speak, at the disposal of the first comer. The annexation of these Islands by England opened their eyes to the forgetfulness which had made them neglect this rich prey, or to their want of sufficient boldness to take possession of them. The Emperor of Russia afterwards laid a note before the congress, the purport of which was that a territory with 300,000 inhabitants, on the left bank of the Rhine, should be accorded to Prince Eugene. The choice of a district in the neighbourhood of France for the territory in which the Emperor Alexander wished to establish Napoleon's adopted son did not show any great solicitude on his part for the interests of the French princes, who had been recently recalled, and as a matter of fact his language did not bespeak much interest on their behalf. I have sometimes heard him speak quite bitterly about them. He said that he had known Louis XVIII. since Mittau; and in his eyes there were nothing but *parvenus* in all the Royal Houses of Europe. "They are back again on the throne now," he added, "let them keep there. If they fall off it is not I who will help them up again."

The hint which Prince Metternich had given to General Neipperg induced the Empress to obtain an interview

with the Prime Minister. She saw him in the Emperor of Austria's palace and received the assurance that her right to the duchy of Parma would be vigorously defended, and that her docility was being taken into consideration. General Neipperg asked Lord Castlereagh for an audience, and he appointed it at eleven o'clock in the evening; he received assurances of interest from this minister and from Lord Wellington. The Empress wrote on February 16th to the Emperor of Russia. Her letter contained, together with new assurances of her confidence in the support he was giving her, a declaration to the effect that she would accept nothing from France, that she would renounce the reversion of the revenue of a million francs which was assured to her by Article III of the treaty of April 11th, and all claims to the fiefs in Bohemia. General Czernitcheff brought back the Emperor Alexander's answer. It renewed his promises to remain of the same way of thinking *in the manner desired by the Empress*. He asked her for a meeting on the morrow. He arrived just at the moment when the Empress, who did not know whether he was coming to luncheon, was sitting down to table, and renewed the assurances which he had made in his letter. Since the concession which had been obtained from the Empress that she would not take her son with her to Italy the most comforting assurances reached her from every side. General Neipperg returning one day from Vienna assured her of the Austrian Cabinet's firm resolution to maintain her rights, and even not to allow any discussion on this point, which was considered as definitely settled by the treaty, and by the fact of the occupation, the taking possession of and government of the duchy in her name ten months ago. The French legation was

far from sharing these views. The Spanish plenipotentiaries joined with it in manifesting a violent opposition. Duc Dalberg asserted at the house of the Countess de Brignole, his mother-in-law, that the Empress would not have Parma, and that the allies would not allow the Bonaparte family to own an independent principality. Count Anatole de Montesquiou arrived about that time to spend a few weeks with his mother, and I was exceedingly glad to see him, for friends of the Emperor had become very rare at Schönbrunn. I also received a letter from General Bertrand from Porto-Ferraio, dated January 28th, and a letter from Cardinal Fesch which had been written from Rome on Feb. 4th. The Emperor was in good health, and had received no news of the Empress and his son for more than a month, a matter which was causing him great anxiety. I showed these letters to the Empress. On the morrow at lunch she told me that if I had not yet answered the letters of which I had spoken to her the day before I was not to answer them; that she would tell me why later on, that the reason referred personally to me rather than to her. Whatever respect I might have for this wish of the Empress which was prompted by nothing less than her natural kindness, I did not consider myself able to dispense with answering these letters, and I have no doubt that if I was not disturbed in my correspondence with the Island of Elba it was owing to her protection. A powerless but not indifferent spectator to all that was going on around me I could not but be painfully affected to see the Empress placed between her duty as wife and mother, and her desire to go and reign in Parma (which she could only obtain by means of a double sacrifice), so

easily choosing between these vexatious alternatives which till then had caused her so much anxiety. Passing storms had changed neither her gentleness nor her kindness, but to her anxiety there had succeeded a security which it was difficult to disturb. I ought perhaps to have sought for the reason of this serenity of hers in the confidence with which she was inspired by the powerful protection of her father, who absolved her of all, and in the sacrifice of her French sentiments to which she had fully made up her mind.

When I used to go and spend a few hours at the bedside of poor Countess de Brignole, who was very ill indeed, I found food for other reflections. The habit of intrigue—even innocent intrigue—which had become a real want in this remarkable woman, accustomed to the respect which distinguished men of every class had always had for her, found but little food in the society of a princess who took nothing seriously to heart. Countess de Brignole enjoyed all the influence to which she could reasonably lay claim on the Empress's mind; but she was forced to exert more suppleness and intellectual resources, put up with more vexations, anxieties, and cares, involuntarily aroused, than when she was governing the Republic of Genoa by her influence on the statesmen of this country, or when she was negotiating with the Pope at Fontainebleau. This violent state of affairs in which this woman, of so fine and delicate an organization, who needed rest and quietness of mind, was placed was to end in killing her. I often advised her to go to seek for rest in Italy, but all her past there had been overthrown, and besides, how could she make up her mind to renounce even the shadow of an influence?

When I used to go from Madame de Brignole's to M. de Bausset's I found him, on the rare occasions when he was not in bed, almost swooning in his arm-chair, wrapped up in an old cashmere shawl and a largely flowered counterpane, *sweating in this harness*, and casting glances now supplicating, now furious, towards the ceiling. This other patient was entirely given up to his sufferings, and remained sometimes for three weeks without interruption fastened down to his bed of pain, which he watered with his perspiration and his tears, for he literally used to cry like a child when his nerves were tortured by the gouty humour.

To pass on to less sorrowful scenes I will speak of a wager which the Emperor Alexander made with a Viennese lady. The wager was to see which of them would change clothes the quicker. The scene took place in a drawing-room which had been divided into two by a screen behind which each was to undress and dress again. The witnesses handed each article of clothing, so that there could be no doubt that the undressing and dressing had been completely carried out. The lady must have exerted great haste, or the Czar must have allowed her to get ahead of him, for she won the bet. It is true that she shortened the operation, which in a woman's toilette takes the most time, by putting a cap on her head. Thus no difficulty was made in the choice of amusements, for anything in the way of diversion was welcomed. The same day there took place at the court a ballet-pantomime representing Olympus. They had been unable to find any Venus, or rather no lady had claimed to represent this Goddess. A certain Princess Bagration had more courage, but before the curtain

went up she withdrew the offer which she had only made to get the performers out of their difficulty. The ingenious Isabey, to conciliate matters had the idea of showing a back view of Venus, draped with all the grace and elegance of which this clever artist possessed the secret.

The French and Spanish plenipotentiaries persevered in their applications for the dethronement of King Joachim. The latter had given Austria no pretext for declaring against him, but the Congress wanted nothing better than to have its hand forced. To effect this purpose the French Government manifested its intention of resorting to the force of arms. The Austrian Cabinet was only awaiting this hostile demonstration to declare that it intended to observe a neutral attitude, and that it would repel by force any French or Neapolitan troops which should set foot on its territory in Italy. To assure this neutrality in appearance, a neutrality behind which it could prepare itself to act, it assembled an army of one hundred and fifty thousand men in Italy under the command of General Frimont. Count Saurau was sent to Milan, at the same time, in the capacity of Governor of Lombardy, and General Goertz was sent to Venice. This declaration was notified to the Courts of Paris and Naples. The French Government then appeared to occupy itself in organizing an expeditionary army to embark at Toulon, land in Sicily, and joining the Sicilian troops, to attempt a landing on the Neapolitan coast. The Minister of War sent General Ricard at the same time to Vienna to come to an understanding with the French ambassador on the subject of this expedition, which however never got beyond the mere proposal.

General Neipperg being at the Court Theatre met M. de

Metternich and was told to prepare to leave for Turin; his adjutant, Colonel Hrabowski received orders at the same time to proceed to Milan to be employed in General Frimont's staff. General Neipperg rushed off at once to inform the Empress Marie Louise of the decision which had been taken with reference to him. On the morrow this Princess left early for Vienna where she begged the Emperor to postpone the general's departure until her affairs had been finally settled; the Emperor Francis refused to make any promises. Count Neipperg wrote from Vienna to Marie Louise urging her to carry out the intention which she had expressed of asking for an interview with Prince Metternich; she at once sent off a letter, which had been prepared in advance, to the minister. At two o'clock Marie Louise drove to Vienna with her son, whom she sent back in the carriage to Schönbrunn. She had to wait a long time for Count de Metternich at the house of the Archduchess Leopoldine, her sister, where she had appointed to meet him. The minister arrived at last and the Empress obtained a promise from him that General Neipperg should not go away before the decision of the congress on the Parma question; his opinion was that all would be finished from the 8th to the 10th of March.

In the meanwhile King Joachim was not in ignorance of the danger which threatened him, nor of the agreement come to between France and several other powers with the object of dethroning him; the crafty conduct of Austria, and the assembling of a formidable Austrian army which was six times greater than a simple observation corps needed to be, caused him anxiety. Considering, and rightly so, that this army was simply directed

against himself, he determined to get the start of his enemies. During the Emperor's stay in the Island of Elba, communications had been established between Napoleon and the King of Naples. At the time when the Emperor decided to leave the Island of Elba it was agreed by word of mouth that the King of Naples should remain with his army on the frontiers of Lombardy, thus threatening Austria without attacking her. A convention to this effect was carried to Naples by one of the Lady Mother's chamberlains. The hurrying on of events prevented this treaty from being signed. A council was held at Ancona, at which three ministers, one French and the other two Neapolitan were present. At this council the question was discussed whether advantage should be taken of the King of Naples' favourable situation, to profit by this situation and to get the start of Austria. The two ministers who were born Neapolitans expressed the opinion that apparent neutrality should be observed, basing themselves on the danger to which the King would expose his crown if by a premature attack he justified Austria's secret designs. The King answered them by saying that since Austria had made up her mind to overthrow him, he must get the start of her by assuming an offensive attitude without waiting any longer. One of the Neapolitan ministers, Zurlo, who was for a long time thought to be the creature and secret agent of the Queen of Sicily, which was not the case, insisted with much loyalty and talent on the various considerations which should keep the King on the defensive. These views were strongly supported by the third minister, who was a very honourable man, animated with French sentiments and devoted to King Joachim. He especially insisted on

the faithful execution of the arrangements which had been come to with the Emperor Napoleon. The King, whose bellicose and impatient character urged him to war, and who was indignant with Austria's ill-will towards him, inclined to act on the offensive. A letter from one of the Emperor's brothers, the contents of which are not known, which was handed to him at a ball which was given to him by the city of Ancona, it may be, referred to some secret plans, and decided him. He threw down the glove and crossed the Rubicon.

Some of the sovereigns had left Vienna, others were preparing to depart, or had fixed the date of their departure at an earlier or later period, in one word, the Congress appeared to be drawing to a close, when the Duke of Wellington arrived in Vienna to take the place of Lord Castlereagh who was being called back to London by the impending opening of Parliament. Whatever may have been the real reason why so important a person was sent to the Congress at the time when the most important business had been settled, the arrival of the hero of the coalition gave a fresh impetus to the amusements which, for the last five months, had not been able to weary the august guests of the Emperor of Austria. It was in the midst of a renewal of festivities and enjoyments, that the unexpected news was thundered forth: *the Emperor has left the Island of Elba.* It is impossible to describe the sensation which was produced by this news. It was brought to Schönbrunn on March 7th at two o'clock in the afternoon by a certain Abbé Zegelius, priest of the parish of St. Anne in Vienna, who came to see Madame de Montesquiou.

The coachman who had driven this abbé had heard

the news at the Chancery of State, whither it had been brought by a courier. The Empress was absent at the time. She had gone out riding accompanied by General Neipperg. On his return the General found a note from his adjutant Lieutenant-Colonel Hrabowski, which informed him that he had been ordered to go to Milan as a courier, and that he was starting at once. Marquis Brignole, who arrived in the course of the evening, informed Marie Louise that couriers coming from various parts of Italy since noon had brought the news that the Emperor had indeed left the Island of Elba. Till then doubt had been permissible. Extreme was the agitation amongst the sovereigns and their ministers. On the evening of the day an extraordinary spectacle was given at the court. The news was the object of the most animated conversations. The French plenipotentiaries, and some other foreign ministers who were present, maintained that the Emperor had made his way to Naples; which was to them a fresh grievance against King Joachim. Those who thought that he had made his way to France were in a great minority and could find nobody to believe them; but all were unanimous in the resolution to take energetic measures against Napoleon. The King of Bavaria pushed his way through the crowd to come and tell Prince Talleyrand that he would *make one of them.* His son the Prince Royal said that the Emperor Napoleon and King Joachim would be taken together and both sent to trial. It would be difficult to describe the various impressions of stupor, fear, hope, in one word, of the genuine or feigned feelings which were expressed by the lofty persons present at this assembly.

The Empress no doubt heard the news on her return

from her ride. At least there is nothing more probable, but she appeared to ignore it. There was dinner, billiards, and music as usual. On the morrow the news spread rapidly in the little French colony of Schönbrunn, and gave rise to such remarks and expressions of opinion that an officious individual thought fit to suggest that an order of the day forbidding the people of the household to make any reflections on the subject be issued. The Empress no longer sought to dissemble the emotion which this *coup de main*, as it was called, caused her. She spoke a great deal about it on the next day; she was alarmed at the dangers to which the Emperor had exposed himself, being persuaded that he would not succeed. She afterwards expressed a fear lest the effects of such an enterprise might be to spoil her affairs in Parma, and compromise her son's future. She went to Vienna to take leave of the Empress of Russia, who was leaving for Munich. On her return she said that the Emperor of Austria had expressed his great displeasure at what the Emperor Napoleon had done and had manifested his intention of sending powerful forces into Italy to oppose anything that he might endeavour to do there. Orders indeed were given to put the Italian navy in movement and to march an army of 180,000 men to Italy under the command of Prince Schwarzenberg. As usually happens in occurrences the importance of which exceeds all others, everybody tried to find a reason for this evasion, and tried to fix the responsibility of it on somebody else. The Emperor of Austria reproached the Emperor of Russia and the King of Prussia for having rejected the proposal of sending a foreign garrison to the Island of Elba, and of forbidding French

soldiers to live there. All festivities ceased in Vienna from this time and gave way to silent activity; the sitting of the Congress was involved in impenetrable mystery; the Vienna Gazette (the *Beobachter,* a newspaper which was written under the inspiration of the Prime Minister) remained silent, the simplest news of the city came there through the newspapers of the other states of Germany. All communication with France was rigorously forbidden. The supervision became insupportably wearisome. The police, like so many wasps, assailed one as one went by, followed one everywhere, and invaded one's privacy on a thousand pretexts. The German servants were thrown into a state of desperation by the Vienna police who exacted with menaces revelations which they were unable to make, as most often they had nothing whatever to disclose. The uncertainty of the events which might be brought about by Napoleon's audacious attempt did not stay the allies in their plans of despoiling the unhappy King of Saxony. This very uncertainty made them hasten it on. This prince had retired to Presburg, determined to consent to no dismemberment of his states. Lord Wellington, Prince Metternich, and Prince de Bénévent went there on the morrow of the day on which the news of Napoleon's departure from the Island of Elba had become public, to endeavour to persuade the King to consent to the arrangement which deprived him of the half of his kingdom. They found him immovable. This unhappy sovereign was, however, obliged later on to yield to force.

It was not only the lofty persons assembled at the Congress who were anxious as to what might be the nature of Napoleon's plans, the event was in every-

body's mind. Two days elapsed before it was known that the Emperor had landed in France. The Emperor Francis, reassured as to Italy, then told his daughter that if Napoleon, against all likelihood, was to succeed, he would not allow her to return to France until experience had taught him that he could trust in his son-in-law's pacific intentions and prudence. The first impulses of this monarch were always good, but his good sense and natural loyalty always yielded to the exigencies of politics.

Already on March 8th all the sovereigns who were still present in Vienna had come to an agreement to put the armies of the coalition once more in march. Lord Wellington—accused of having opposed the plan which had been discussed before his arrival in Vienna, of removing the Emperor from the Island of Elba and of transporting him to some island in the Ocean—said that a campaign against the Emperor Napoleon was about to be entered upon; that he would be taken prisoner and conducted to England, where he would enjoy the consideration and the respect due to the part which he had played in the world.

During the three weeks which had elapsed since the news of the Emperor's departure from the Island of Elba had become known in Vienna, the most contradictory rumours followed upon each other. Now, Napoleon, having failed before Antibes, where he had presented himself, had re-embarked; according to other versions he had been received there by General Vandamme. Now, he had marched upon Lyons, but had been attacked on his march and had lost three pieces of artillery. The provinces through which he passed, so went the report, placed themselves once more under

the rule of the Bourbons, after he had left them behind him. Now, he was at the head of six thousand men, and Marshal Soult had joined him; now, Comte d'Artois, at the head of a corps commanded by Gouvion Saint-Cyr, had fallen in with the Emperor on this side of Dijon and had inflicted a defeat upon him; now Louis XVIII. was prisoner at Compiègne; now Marshal Ney had defeated the Emperor; now he had joined him with his army. According to others he had joined the Emperor alone, because his troops had abandoned him, etc., etc. These rumours did not spring from the lower classes; they were the *résumé* of the letters received by the two Emperors and the King of Prussia. The Empress of Austria took care to forward the news which she received, more often false than true, to her step-daughter. French newspapers were forbidden and were carefully hidden by the Austrian ministers and the ministers of the allied powers who received them. French news was published in the German newspapers alone.

King Joseph, at that time in retirement in Switzerland, did not leave me without news of the Emperor's march. He sent me emissaries to acquaint me with the real state of affairs and to put me in a position to counteract the effect produced by the calamitous reports which Fauche Borel* scattered broadcast amongst the members of the congress and in the city of Vienna, which was the only source whence they reached the Empress's ears.

The Empress was so agitated by the rapid succession of events, by the continual alternations of the

* Fauche Borel, a publicist of the day, known for his fanatical attachment to the Bourbons.

Emperor's success and failure, that she lost her peace of mind altogether. Careful as I was to inform her of the truth, as I was not always able to reveal to her the source of my information, she was inclined rather to believe the news which reached her from the Court in Vienna than to trust in mine; any piece of news, no matter what it might be, agitated her in the same manner. One day she would say that she would not return to France, because she could see no chance of repose for this country; the next day she would say that if the Emperor would give up his plans of conquest, and would consent to reign peacefully, she had reason to believe that no obstacle would be put in the way of her return to France, and that she would have no objection to appear there again, as she had always had a liking for the French.

The resolution which had been taken, of separating the young prince from his worthy governess, began to manifest itself in complaints which were made against Madame de Montesquiou. It was said that she was guilty of having spoken to the young prince of the future which would be the result to him of his father's enterprise. M. de Bausset was in consequence commissioned to see Colonel Montesquiou and to point out to him how very necessary it was that his mother should be careful about what she said, so great was the supervision to which she was subjected; a very superfluous recommendation, seeing that Madame de Montesquiou was prudence itself. She had no difficulty in convincing the Empress that she was not inconsiderate enough to disturb a young child's mind with untimely revelations the gravity of which he could not appreciate, and to say things to him which were calculated to

excite him in a manner likely to injure him physically as well as mentally.

The state of the Countess de Brignole's health continued a cause for serious anxiety. On March 11th she had several severe fainting-fits, in consequence of which Madame de Montesquiou induced her to receive the last sacraments. At three o'clock the Empress followed by Madame de Colloredo, M. and Madame Antoine Brignole and persons of the household proceeded to the chapel, according to the custom observed in the imperial households. There both she and her suite received lighted tapers, and we followed the priest who carried the Holy Sacrament to the sick woman's room in processional form. We all were present at the prayers and the extreme unction, on our knees. Countess de Brignole edified us all with her piety and her resignation. She asked forgiveness for any injuries that she might have done in a firm and loud voice, without either boasting or baseness. After the conclusion of the ceremony, we reconducted the priest back to the chapel in the same procession and in the same order. This scene, touching and imposing at the same time, supported by the sick lady with all her presence of mind seemed to restore her to her strength. On the morrow she was well enough to receive the Empress and even to converse with each of us, with a serenity and clear-headedness that deceived us as to the danger which menaced her.

In the midst of this visit Marie Louise whispered to Count Neipperg proposing that they should go and finish a letter the object of which we did not know till the morrow. The purport of this letter was to declare to M. de Metternich that she had nothing what-

ever to do with the Emperor Napoleon's plans, and that she placed herself under the protection of the allies. This declaration, which was immediately communicated to the sovereigns and their plenipotentiaries assembled at the congress, seemed to have been what they had been waiting for to decide upon the terms of the manifesto directed against the Emperor. This manifesto was the famous declaration of March 13th, 1815, an incitement to murder, worthy of the days of barbarism.* Why need it be added that the terms of this *factum*, which had been elaborated at the French legation, were found too violent by the allies themselves, who changed its wording. The treaty of March 25th following, was the application and completion of this manifesto, a veritable document of proscription dictated by fear, by pride, and by all hateful passions exaggerated to their extremest degree. The French plenipotentiary no doubt did not foresee that in stirring up the hatred of the foreigners against France, and in provoking the renewal of the Chaumont treaty, he was preparing the disastrous and humiliating treaty of Paris of November 20th, 1815, to which too late he recognized

* "The powers who signed the treaty of Paris, assembled in congress at Vienna, informed of Napoleon's invasion and entry by force of arms into France, owe it to their own dignity and to the interests of social order to make a solemn declaration of the feelings which this event has awakened within them.

"In breaking the agreement which had established him in the Island of Elba, Bonaparte has destroyed the only legal title to which his existence was attached. By reappearing in France with plans for troubling and upheaval, he has deprived himself by his own act of the protection of the law, and has manifested in the face of the universe that neither peace nor truce can be had with him.

"The powers in consequence declare that Napoleon Bonaparte has placed himself outside the pale of civil and social relations, and that as the enemy and perturbator of the peace of the world, he has given himself up to the vengeance of the public, etc., etc."—(Terms of the Declaration.)

that it was impossible for him to affix his signature.

The Empress appeared sad and afflicted. Her mind was secretly agitated by a fluctuation of painful feelings and reflections; she had not enough confidence in Madame de Montesquiou or in me to unbosom herself to us without reserve. She had even made a remark—so I was assured at the time—which I did not think it right to pass over in silence. She is said to have said: "If I were sure that I have not been blamed for not going to the Island of Elba...." then, without giving full expression to her thought, to have added: "But I am surrounded by people here who, to be sure, have not missed the opportunity of accusing me." No misunderstanding of these words was possible to me. I accordingly took the first opportunity that presented itself to complain of the bad opinion which she had of me, if she deemed me capable of abusing the honourable hospitality which she was according me, to play the part of informer. I told her that nobody better than myself knew the desire which she had always had to join the Emperor, and that events alone, the severe watch which was held over her person, and the precautions with which she was surrounded, had not left her free to obey what she had considered as a duty. What motive, I added, could I have had to lack in the respect which I owed to her? When she had spoken of the Emperor was it not always with the remembrance of the consideration and affection which she admitted to have always found in him? I took advantage of the opportunity to express to her my regret for the declaration which she had made some days before and which had been turned to so bad a use by the Congress. I exhorted her

in the most pressing manner to sign nothing which might engage her either to the allies or against the Emperor; it seemed to me the only attitude which she could assume in the vexatious position in which she found herself. She listened to my advice without impatience and told me that she saw its prudence; that if I was alluding to the declaration of March 13th she regretted it as much as I did; that it was a declaration of unparalleled violence, and that the allies in the future would regret having allowed themselves to give way to it; but she added that she was no longer mistress of her actions, that she had promised her father to place herself entirely in his hands and to conduct herself only in accordance with his advice; that she could not, without breaking her word, or failing in her duty towards her father, thenceforward her son's only guardian, to whom he showed constant affection, oppose anything that he might wish to do, not only in her personal but in their common interest; that the Austrian princesses were mere instruments in the hands of the head of their house; that she had been brought up in the principle of absolute submission to this authority; that she was no longer an independent sovereign; that she was without protection and incapable of resistance; that she could but yield under the yoke which would be put upon her, or openly rebel against her father and her family; that I could imagine what would be the consequences of such rebellion on her son's future; that she had been born under a fatal star; and that she was doomed never to be happy.*

* *Vide* the facsimile of Marie Louise's letter at the end of this volume, in which she speaks of herself as "completely happy". It

The thought that Napoleon's son was in the hands of people who were devoted to his father filled the masters of Europe with anxiety. The Emperor of Austria declared to his daughter that the sovereigns desired that, under existing circumstances, the young prince should reside in Vienna. On March 18th, the Empress on her return from Vienna, whither she had taken her son to see the Emperor Francis, sent word to Madame de Montesquiou to prepare to take the young Prince back to reside in the palace of Vienna, and occupy the apartment of the hereditary prince. In consequence of this order, arrangements were made for going to Vienna on the second day following, the sad anniversary of a great day. When this dear object of the wishes and hopes of a great and powerful nation had come to the light of day, who could have foreseen that four years later, he would be in Vienna, a new Astyanax, a prisoner to the coalition, and that he would suffer the fate from which his father had tried to preserve him. On the 19th the Empress, returning from Vienna, went to her son's apartment and informed Madame de Montesquiou of the wish expressed by the Emperor of Austria, inviting her to get ready to start at eight in the evening, without mentioning the reasons which rendered this sudden departure necessary. At the hour mentioned she entered the carriage with Madame de Montesquiou and her son, and accompanied them to the imperial palace, where she left them.

On her return to Schönbrunn, the Empress informed me that she had been forced to write to her father to

was written some years later, after she had entered into possession of Parma, and whilst Napoleon was languishing at Longwood.—R. H. S.

place herself and her son under his protection; that the necessity of this step had been imperiously pointed out to her; that the Emperor Francis was determined to assure the succession to the States of Parma to his grandson, and would ask the King of France for his consent to this arrangement, as the price of the efforts made to maintain him on his throne. In the meanwhile the Austrian Cabinet availed itself of the step taken by Marie Louise to order the administration of the duchies in her name, but on behalf of Austria, on the pretext that the Emperor Napoleon might send a governor into these states to take possession of them in the Empress's name.

The Prince de Bénévent was an object of so much suspicion in Vienna that all his actions were supposed to be dictated by double and contradictory motives. On the one hand it was said that, informed of the progress which Napoleon was making in France, and knowing that a decree issued from Lyons excepted him from the amnesty, he had had the idea of making his way to London where his niece would have followed him with her children and the Duchess of Courland, but that his favourite principle of awaiting events had prevented him from carrying this plan into execution. On the other hand, known as he was as a man most inconsistent in his fidelity, it was supposed that he had come to a secret understanding with Napoleon. It was added that it had been proposed in Congress to put his papers under seal. On March 27th, after having received a special messenger who had been sent to him from Paris, M. de Talleyrand announced that he was closing his house and that his mission was terminated. Of the four French plenipo-

tentiaries, M. de la Tour du Pin left Vienna, Prince de Bénévent, Duc Dalberg, and Count Alexis de Noailles remained there until further orders. M. de Talleyrand duly left a few days after the various deeds of the Congress had been signed. M. de la Besnardière had separated himself from M. de Talleyrand towards the end of April; he had returned in the beginning of May to Paris and everything that he said there seemed calculated to create discouragement. In order to hide the real motive which had brought him back to Paris he pretended to blame M. de Talleyrand. His real motive was to keep the latter acquainted by letter with what was going on. I had had frequent opportunities of seeing this person in Vienna. I had found him exceedingly badly disposed towards the Emperor and towards the army, and in general very hostile to the acts of the Imperial government. He seemed unable to speak on this subject without giving way to the most violent tirades. On his arrival in Paris M. de la Besnardière put himself at Fouché's disposal and became his tool. Fouché chose him as one of the commissioners who were charged to negotiate for the armistice with the generals of the enemy after the battle of Waterloo. In this capacity he was sent with Generals Valence and Andréossy, and MM. Boissy d'Anglas and Flaugergues. Although M. de la Besnardière's exaggerated opinions were well known, and although only a fortnight previously he had been attached to the Royal Legation at the Vienna Congress, Fouché insisted on his choice. He answered any objections which were made on this score with the remark that the commissioners would want a man who was acquainted with diplomatic forms.

The mention of this fact dispenses with any considerations. I have neglected to say in what capacity M. de la Besnardière was in Vienna. Before the Restoration he had been head of the northern division at the Ministry of Exterior Relations, at the time when political direction was divided into two divisions, a northern and a southern. Appointed Councillor of State he had been attached to Prince de Bénévent's mission. On his return from Vienna M. de la Besnardière attained in Sept., 1815, in recompense for his "loyal services" to the Bourbons a very large pension and retired to an estate which he possessed in Touraine, where he died leaving a fortune of one million. His retirement was on the pretext of his health, for which he took the most extraordinary care. This imaginary invalid never travelled without being accompanied by his doctor, his sister, and his dog.

On March 20th, the day on which the Emperor retook possession of the Tuileries palace, which King Louis had abandoned during the night, the Grand Chamberlain Count Wrbna called upon Madame de Montesquiou, and told her that he had been the day before to Schönbrunn charged with a disagreeable mission which he had not had the courage to fulfil, and informed her with all possible consideration that the Emperor had given orders that she should be separated from his grandson the Prince, and leave for France. The well-known opinions of the worthy countess, and the tender affection which she considered it her duty to foster in her pupil's heart for the Emperor his father, had rendered her an object of suspicion to the Court of Vienna. In spite of her prayers, her entreaties, and her protests, she was forced to obey this cruel order. She was forced to abandon

the child which she had received in her arms, which she had not left for a single moment since its birth, and which had been the object of her constant care. She refused, however, to relinquish this precious charge except on a written order from the Emperor of Austria, protesting against the violence which tore her from functions which she could only resign into the hands of him who had entrusted her with them. She demanded in addition to a written order from the Emperor that a doctor's certificate should be given to her to prove that she had left the young prince in a perfect state of health. In reply she received a letter from the Emperor of Austria in which she was informed that new circumstances having arisen which rendered it necessary to make a change in the Prince's household, he could not allow Madame de Montesquiou to go away without assuring her of his gratitude for the care which she had bestowed on his grandson since his birth. To this expression of esteem, which he could not refuse to conduct so noble, the Emperor Francis added the gift of a set of sapphires. The same day we learned the reason which had hastened on the young Prince's departure for the Imperial palace. Madame de Colloredo who had come to lunch with the Empress told us that Count Anatole de Montesquiou had wanted to kidnap the Prince, that the proof of this was contained in reports which had reached the Emperor during the night, and that relays of horses had been prepared for this purpose as far as Bâle. This story about an imaginary conspiracy with the object of kidnapping the Emperor's son and restoring him to his father has been accredited in memoirs published about this period; but the reports spread with reference to this matter, have no real foundation.

On the morrow, March 21st, the Empress went and spent several hours in Vienna with her son and then returned to Schönbrunn. In the evening Madame de Montesquiou arrived with Count Anatole, in a court carriage which had been sent her by the Grand Chamberlain. She had only left the Prince after he was asleep and after having received a visit from Count Sickingen, the Emperor of Austria's chamberlain and friend.

M. de Sickingen's name reminds me that the Emperor Napoleon out of respect for a request made by the Emperor Francis, had accorded a revenue of 50,000 francs to this chamberlain, the capital of which was taken from the funds of the extraordinary domain. This revenue had been given as a special favour to Count Sickingen as a compensation for the loss of estates which he possessed on the left bank of the Rhine.

As Madame de Montesquiou was to return on the morrow to France with her son, the Empress wrote her an affectionate letter in which she enclosed her a lock of her hair. Difficulties which they experienced in obtaining passports delayed the mother and the son in Vienna until the evening and they were waiting with a certain impatience, when Count Wrbna called again and informed Madame de Montesquiou that in consequence of the events which were taking place in France the Emperor of Austria had made up his mind to cancel the authorization which he had given her to depart, and that an apartment would be prepared for her and her son in the palace of Schönbrunn. Madame de Montesquiou refused it, saying that the "persecuted would be too near the persecutor." She asked one of three things, either to be free to return to France, to resume her

service with the young prince, or to withdraw to the Convent of the Visitation until the time when she would be allowed to depart. The reason why she wished to go and live in this convent was, that having been brought up in a house of this order she had acquired there those sentiments of religion and honour which had been the rule and the consolation of her life, sentiments which had also made her considered worthy of the charge that the Emperor Napoleon had entrusted to her. Count Wrbna promised her an answer for next morning. This answer arrived at noon. The Emperor Francis gave Madame de Montesquiou leave to go and live in the Convent of the Visitation. M. de Wrbna answered that he had just been there, only that there was no apartment vacant in this convent, and that he had chosen an apartment of three rooms in Vienna at the house of M. d'Enzenberg, Arch-Duke Louis's chamberlain, where she could live. Madame de Montesquiou accepted, resigning herself to go and live in the apartment which had been prepared for her. So painful a separation was bitterly felt by the poor little prince, who had become accustomed to the care lavished upon him by his affectionate governess. He was constantly asking for *Mamma Quiou*, and the regrets which he expressed at no longer seeing her by his side were the only consolation which she could receive under these painful circumstances.

In a letter which the Emperor addressed from Lyons to Marie Louise, under date of March 12th, he informed her that summoned by the French people he yielded to their wishes, that he was received with acclamation everywhere, that he should be in Paris in a few

days, and that he expected her and his son at the end of the month. This letter had been handed to the Empress on the same day on which the young prince had been taken to Vienna. It had been sent on by the Austrian General Bubna together with a very similar letter addressed to the Emperor. These two letters had been laid before the Congress. I do not know to what extent they influenced the decision which was taken in Vienna for detaining Madame de Montesquiou and her son. The latter received permission some days later to return to France, but on arriving at Lambach, the frontier of the Austrian states, he was arrested on some pretext or other, brought back to Vienna, and detained in secret confinement for four days. M. de Montesquiou only regained his liberty, partly thanks to M. de Talleyrand's interference on his behalf, and on a promise which he was forced to make that he would not leave Vienna without permission. These gratuitous severities exercised against an officer full of honour, whose social position and well-known loyalty should have protected him from such vexations, were carried out by the most servile and most brutal police in Europe. This police was moreover stimulated by the mistrust which was inspired by the few French people who had remained in Vienna in the Empress's service—a mistrust which the presence of one of the Emperor's aides-de-camp, whose mother was the governess of Napoleon's son, was bound to still further increase. Countess de Montesquiou, greatly hurt by the accusations which had been made against her son, demanded in vain that the official Gazette of Vienna should publish a denial of the alleged conspiracy for kidnapping the young

prince; no attention whatever was paid to this request.

During Passion Week the Empress Marie Louise attended mass with great assiduity, leaving Schönbrunn at nine o'clock in the morning to be present at the religious ceremonies. On the Thursday before Easter the Emperor and Empress of Austria washed the feet of twenty-four old men and women whose total ages amounted to nearly two thousand years. Marie Louise continued her devotional exercises in Vienna up to Easter Day. She attended mass on that day in the chapel of the château of Schönbrunn, but went to Vienna to be present at the benediction in the Cathedral Church. At that time she sought relief from her sad thoughts in pious exercises, and consolations which she said she could no longer find anywhere else than in religion.

Reports of every kind provoked by the escape from Elba continued to circulate, supplying food to the curiosity of the idle, to the anxieties and hopes of those who were interested in the result of this extraordinary enterprise.

All eyes were turned to Napoleon at this time. It was said that King Joachim had assembled his council and the principal persons in his state, that he had made a speech to them, that his son, Achilles, had been carried in triumph, that the king had set out to put himself at the head of his army and to proclaim the independence of Italy. In order to increase the effect of this dramatic recital, which was so favourable to the views of the Austrian Government, it was falsely added that the Princess of Wales, having fallen in love with King Joachim, had refused to embark on board a frigate which had been sent to convey her back to England, and that she had followed the King with the army.

On Easter Monday the Empress was present at a family banquet given in Vienna on the occasion of the renewal of the Emperor's oath-taking to protect and support the Catholic religion, in the presence of the Archbishop of Vienna. The Emperor and Empress of Austria proceeded with this purpose to St. Stephen's church in great state with a procession of carriages of Gothic shape and covered with gold, with all the corps under arms, and the pages in grand livery, escorting the Imperial carriage on foot. At the same time when the young prince was removed from Madame de Montesquiou's maternal care, orders were given that members of the French Imperial family should be arrested and detained in Austria. Prince Schwarzenberg sent two officers to the château of Prangins in the Canton of Vaud, to seize the person of King Joseph and conduct him to Brunn in Moravia, but the prince had left Prangins when they arrived. Princess Elisa, Grand-duchess of Tuscany, had been arrested in Bologna and conducted to Brunn. She had only been allowed two hours to prepare for her departure, in the presence of several officers and non-commissioned officers who crowded her apartment. She left her son at Bologna, her daughter accompanying her to Brunn. She had asked to be allowed to go and live in the country near Vienna, or at Baden, because the climate of Brunn was injurious to her health. This permission was not granted.

The childhood of Napoleon's son needed gentler and more attentive cares than could be given him by the men to whom he had been handed over since Madame de Montesquiou's forced retirement. A certain Madame

de Mitrowsky, widow of an Austrian general, was provisionally appointed the young prince's governess, and was presented in this capacity to the Empress. This lady appeared to be thirty or thirty-two years old. She was not pretty, but had a refined appearance, and seemed amiable and anxious to please. Her daughter who was about ten years old was with her. Her remarriage with a M. Scarampi had been decided upon. This M. Scarampi was a superior officer in the Austrian Lusignan regiment and he was leaving the army to enter the civil service. He was to have been attached to Baron de Vincent's legation in Ghent, but on his marriage with Madame de Mitrowsky, the Duchess of Parma gave him a post in her household, in order that he might be near his wife. This lady after her presentation to the Empress, and at the death of Madame de Brignole, was appointed lady-in-waiting, by a decision emanating from the Emperor of Austria's Cabinet. She fulfilled these double duties during the first year.

The Empress of Austria who protected Madame de Mitrowsky gave orders in person that on her return to the château of Schönbrunn, Madame de Mitrowsky's apartment should be got ready for her with all speed.

The turn for the better in Madame de Brignole's health was not of long duration. She had grown weaker each day and was devoured by an ardent fever. I used to spend most of the day at her bedside speaking to her, chatting to her, or reading passages which she would sometimes interrupt with judicious and remarkable reflections. Her language was full of eloquence, and impressed with a loftiness of thought which was almost sublime. In her calmer

moments she would return to her memories of the past or occupy herself with her last arrangements. One day she charged me with various private commissions which she begged me to keep secret. She also dictated me a note containing certain arrangements referring to charities, and presents which she wished to be distributed, and provided that all her papers should be sent to her business man in Genoa.

I made haste to send this note to her son directly after her death. It was not possible for me to be present with her during her last moments, for I myself was ill and unable to leave my room. The state of excitement in which she found herself during the last days which preceded her death prevented me from speaking to her of what was going on in France. The fear of provoking an emotion which might have been injurious to her obliged us to observe prudent discretion on events so important. I heard from Madame de Montesquiou that she had told her all these things on the day before her death. Countess de Brignole* at least carried into her grave with her the hope which it needed but two months to destroy for those who survived. After she had breathed her last Count Dalberg, her son-in-law, hastened to come and see me, being very anxious to know whether his mother-in-law had made any arrangements in his favour with which I might be charged to acquaint him. I bitterly regretted the premature death of this lady who was as distinguished by her mental gifts, as by her qualities of heart; she was not yet fifty years old. She died during the night in her doctor's arms, assisted only in this supreme

*The Duchess de Galliera who died recently was the daughter of the Countess de Brignole.

moment by two faithful servants. She was deprived of the comfort of taking farewell of her son who was the Genoese minister at the Congress. The state in which he had left his mother on the previous evening had not made him think that the end was so near. When he arrived it was to find that she was dead. Whilst he was accomplishing this painful journey his daughter, a child of five years, who had been suffering from croup for several days past also breathed her last. Thus in a few moments he lost the dearest objects of his affection; death seemed to have awaited his absence to remove them both. Few misfortunes could be compared to the misfortune which thus fell upon the unhappy Marquis de Brignole.

On the second day following Madame de Brignole's death, after the doctors had carried out the post-mortem examination, her body was buried in the cemetery at Hitzing, which is a village near Schönbrunn, where some Frenchmen who died in exile—amongst others Cléry, Louis XVI.'s old valet-de-chambre—were buried. Marie Louise was present at the funeral service in the church in the company of Madame de Mitrowsky, who had just been appointed her lady-in-waiting.

The treaty of March 25th had been signed. The operations of the Congress had been followed by military movements. The Emperor Alexander seemed to have assumed the rôle of quarter-master to the Austrian troops. Every day, dressed in Austrian uniform, he used to go either to the Burg Square, or to the Prater, to review the regiments on their way through the city of Vienna; he used to take the Prince Imperial of Austria with him. The good citizens of Vienna had a change in their sight-seeing: instead of tournaments,

carriage and sledge races, there were military parades, the rolling of drums, the rumbling of cannon and artillery caissons. The majority of the princes of the secondary States had left Paris. The Emperor of Austria dragged in the train of the Emperor of Russia, was to follow the latter to Prague to review the Russian troops there. Prince Schwarzenberg was leaving to take over the command-in-chief of the Austrian troops. Archduke Charles had accepted the government of Mayence.

The Emperor of Russia was in a state of violent excitement. Prince Eugene, whose intimacy he had sought after, had become an object of suspicion in his eyes. A groom attached to the latter's service, returning from France where he had been to visit his family, and who had left Paris on March 22nd, had brought back letters from Queen Hortense, Count Lavalette, and M. Soulange Bodin, the prince's intendant, which spoke of the enthusiasm with which the Emperor's return had been met, of the hopes which had been conceived as to the speedy return of the Empress and her son, and of Queen Hortense's intention of going to receive them at Strasburg. Certain expressions which had offended the Emperor Alexander had crept into the Queen's letter. This courier was arrested at Stuttgart and sent to Vienna, and the letters which he carried were read out to the Congress. It was concluded from this that Prince Eugene was an accomplice in Napoleon's return to France. General Czernitcheff came to inform the prince in his master's name that the Emperor Alexander was obliged to break off all communication with him and, in spite of all his efforts, Prince Eugene was unable to entirely justify himself.

To clear himself of all suspicion of being in connivance with the Emperor Napoleon, he was obliged to promise not to leave Germany. If it was important to the allies that Prince Eugene should not return to France, where his help might have been useful to the Emperor, Austria feared his presence in Italy still more. No sooner had she re-entered into possession of the provinces of which the hazard of war had stripped her, than she neglected nothing to assure herself of their quiet possession and to extend her influence. Her first care had been to remove the generals and principal officers of the Italian army, sending them to serve in Hungary and replacing them by Austrian officers. I was constantly seeing, at Prince Eugene's house, Italian generals passing through Vienna on their way to their new destination. The measure taken with them seemed to affect them very disagreeably. They were deprived of the order of the Crown of Iron, for which another order bearing the Emperor Francis's effigy, accompanied by emblems recording the events by which Italy had again been placed under the rule of Austria, was substituted. Archduke John was sent to these provinces, with the title of viceroy, provided with extraordinary powers for assuring the Emperor's authority in this country. Count Aldini tired of his useless sojourn in Vienna had asked to be allowed to return home, but this had been refused.

I had occasion to see M. de Talleyrand at the time, having various communications to make to him. Till then I had avoided meeting him, although he had made me offers of service. I took advantage of this opportunity to thank him for the interest which he had shown in my favour--although, it is true, it had been

without result—in seconding the wish expressed by the Emperor Alexander that some compensation should be awarded to me for the loss of my endowments in the former Escaut department. He asked me what I proposed to do. I told him that I intended to return to Paris as soon as I was free to do so. His question emboldened me, in my turn, to ask him what were his intentions. "Mon Dieu!" he cried, "who can make any plans at such a time? You ask me what I mean to do. I don't know at all. I shall wait." This complete and unexpected frankness on the part of the most subtle of diplomats would give a great appearance of truth to what General Langenau, quarter-master of Prince Schwarzenberg's army, told me when some time later I had to apply to the Austrian commander-in-chief for my passports. This general officer assured me that Prince de Bénévent and M. de la Besnardière had wished to return to France; that Prince Metternich had made no objections to their being supplied with passports, but that Prince Schwarzenberg had held a different opinion on the subject. According to the General's story the Austrian commander-in-chief had pointed out how very disadvantageous M. de Talleyrand's return to Paris would be, in view of the fact that he was in the secret of all the affairs that had been discussed at the Congress. M. de Metternich, convinced by his representations, had refused to grant the passports. I, for my part, have every reason to place faith in the revelation which precedes, and I may add that it is only another proof of the little confidence which the allies reposed in M. de Talleyrand. According to their statements, this ambassador had not been sufficiently carefully watched, even whilst

at Ghent, for them to feel quite at their ease about him.

M. de Talleyrand spoke to me of the two heavy losses which he had experienced within the last month, in the persons of Countess de Brionne and of Countess de Brignole. Madame de Brionne was the mother of Prince Lambesc, and of a Princess Charlotte, who was formerly notorious for her relations with Abbé de Perigord, who was none other than M. de Talleyrand. Countess de Brionne had come to die at Presburg where her daughter's former lover had been to take a last farewell of her. He told me that the Empress had lost in Madame de Brignole a person who was able to give her "strong advice". He insisted on this word, but I did not ask him what he meant by it. I found that I had been indiscreet enough already in asking him what his plans were.

I cannot speak of M. de Talleyrand without expressing my surprise at the way in which his friends and those who have echoed them attributed to him a large part in the direction of Napoleon's politics. His greatest skill lay in his *savoir faire*, in the science of intrigue, and in his way of hiding his secret dislikes. He always sheltered himself behind some great capacity, so as to rise in its shade and found his reputation. First of all, behind Mirabeau, and then behind Napoleon. It is not thanks to luminous conceptions matured in the work of the study, nor to a talent for developing them in searching debates, nor to his eloquence as an orator that this statesman raised himself to the rank where public opinion has placed him. The secret of the superiority attributed to him by his contemporaries dwells, above all, in the prestige of the great diplomatic transactions of the Consulate and the Empire, in

which he was the keen and intelligent agent, in the long career of public honours in which he knew how to maintain himself, and finally in the art of resuming in witty or sententious sayings the gravest and most important questions. How often have I been present at the ordinary weekly work which this Minister had with the First Consul or Emperor, when he was at the head of the department of Exterior Relations! Napoleon used to read the despatches which his minister handed him and would speak in detail about the matters contained therein. M. de Talleyrand appeared to listen to him with attention, but I rarely heard him express his own opinions, and as a general rule he only used to answer in monosyllables. Was this circumspection on his part, or was it a wish to clearly understand the Emperor's views before expressing himself on the subject? When the conversation was drawing to a close, it would sometimes happen that Napoleon would be summoned elsewhere to an audience which he had to give. He would then leave M. de Talleyrand, saying: "You have quite understood, make a summary of what I have said on the paper. I shall come back." And as a matter of fact he would return an hour or two later, but M. de Talleyrand had written nothing. Then Napoleon without appearing surprised and without making any complaint, would collect the papers on the table and dictate at great length what had to be written in answer. He would then charge his minister to take away what he had written from dictation and make a fair copy of it. It would be sometimes myself who wrote from his dictation. M. de Talleyrand on his return home would summon his heads of department and set them to work. It has

sometimes happened that I found him in the morning lying in a little room in which two or three of his writers, standing up before a Tronchin writing-table, * were giving the last touches to a report which M. de Talleyrand was to carry to Napoleon, and which he would afterwards patiently copy out in his own writing. Although this Minister was incurably lazy, he spared no pains to prevent any loss of his reputation for skill and discretion. There is reason to believe that even the letters which were written from Vienna to Louis XVIII. by Prince de Talleyrand, were written by M. de la Besnardière and afterwards copied by his chief. Volumes of these letters exist in the archives of the Foreign Office, the drafts of which, written in M. de la Besnardière's writing, have been found.

But what made M. de Talleyrand's co-operation especially precious to the Emperor was that this minister was unequalled in diplomatic conversations. In comparing him to another of his ministers Napoleon used to say of him: "One speaks with so much ease, that yielding to the pleasure of talking he lets his secret escape him and comes away without having found out the secrets of the others, whilst Talleyrand on the other hand allows nobody to fathom him and extracts all that it is of interest for me to know, out of the person to whom he is speaking." In this respect Talleyrand was a useful and skilful coadjutor to the Emperor. It has been so often repeated that success abandoned Napoleon's operations from the day on which M. de Talleyrand was no longer in a position

* A desk at which one stands to work. So called from a celebrated Swiss doctor, called Tronchin, who lived in the 18th century, who also gave his name to a form of exercise known as *tronchinner*.—R. H. S.

to enforce his political ideas, that I fear lest those who hear me speak in this way of this celebrated person, may accuse me of resembling that Athenian peasant who recorded his vote of ostracism against Aristides, whom he did not know, because he was tired of always hearing this great citizen styled The Just.

In our opinion, M. de Talleyrand owes the best part of his reputation to his circumspection and the prudent silence which he was careful to observe. He never allowed himself to be carried into a discussion with anybody; his principle was to let people talk and not to answer. I have heard General Lamarque relate the following anecdote on this point: The general had formerly had a dispute with a certain General Canuel, an ardent republican who afterwards became a royalist. General Lamarque defended himself vigorously against Canuel's attacks by means of letters to the papers. One day when he had published a letter in the *Constitutionnel*, with which he was very well satisfied, he found himself at dinner, placed next to Prince Talleyrand. The Prince nudged him with his elbow and said: "General Lamarque, I thought you were an intelligent man." On the general's expressing surprise at this remark, the Prince continued: "I say that because I read a letter of yours in a paper this morning. How can you be simple enough to enter the arena with people who attack you? You cannot imagine how you please them by so doing. Trust me, let them talk, and do you keep quiet. Do as I do; I have never answered anybody and you see that I have had no reason to complain of the result."

General Neipperg had left for Italy on April 1st, leaving a long letter full of recommendations and advice for Marie Louise who could no longer do without them. During the general's absence an active correspondence established itself between the princess and himself. Count Neipperg's letters were real memoirs; some of them were not less than eight or ten pages in length.

M. de Montrond arrived in Vienna some days after Count Neipperg's departure. He handed me a letter from the Emperor for the Empress and letters addressed by the Duc de Vicence to Madame de Montesquiou and myself. M. de Montrond, according to what he told me, had only been able to enter into Austria thanks to the passport of Abbé Altieri, who had been sent by the Pope to withdraw the archives of the Vatican which had been transported from Rome to Paris after Napoleon's victories. He informed me that the Emperor had in vain endeavoured to send couriers and several officers, amongst others, M. de Flahaut and M. de Stassart, to Vienna and that all the passages were hermetically closed.

Count de Flahaut, aide-de-camp to the Emperor, and Baron de Stassart, who had been auditor and prefect under the Empire and who was at that time chamberlain to the Emperor of Austria, had not been able to get beyond Lintz which they had reached after surmounting many obstacles. M. de Stassart went to Munich there to await the answer to a letter which he had written to the Emperor of Austria, in forwarding to him the despatches with which he had been entrusted, a letter in which he renewed the offer made by Napoleon to maintain the treaty of Paris; it was then

the beginning of May. He had been some days in Munich when he was sent for by Prince Eugene who had been there for about a month past. This Prince informed M. de Stassart that M. de Metternich invited him through Prince Wrède, who had arrived the day before from Vienna, to inform him that if the Emperor Napoleon would consent to abdicate immediately in favour of his son, not only would Austria consent to acknowledge the imperial dynasty, but would even in case of need make common cause with France. It was demanded at the same time that Napoleon should surrender into the hands of his father-in-law and, whilst waiting for the sovereignty, which was intended for him, to be assigned to him, should go and live in one of the cities of the hereditary Austrian states. Napoleon, to whom M. de Stassart made haste to communicate this offer which had been passed on from hand to hand in the way described, may have hesitated over some of the proposals which were made to him, but his want of confidence in the loyalty of the Vienna Cabinet and in the dispositions of the allies definitely prevented him from accepting it.

At the same time M. de Metternich caused an overture of an almost similar nature, but addressed to the Duke d'Otranto to be made through M. Werner, whom the Austrian Minister sent to Bâle with this object in view. A month earlier M. Bresson had also been sent from Vienna with an analogous secret mission. These were the last attempts at an arrangement which can be mentioned on the part of Napoleon's irreconcilable enemies who were preparing themselves, at the same time, to give him his deathblow.

M. de Montrond had told me, laughing, that he

had a free hand to kidnap Marie Louise, disguising her, if need be, in man's clothing and "without having to pay any attention to her prudery, etc."

Various indications and his customary tone of witty jesting proved to me, as I already had reason to suspect, that this plan of removing the Empress, was only a joke on his part and not the object of his mission to Austria. He expressed his surprise at the sudden confidence which the Imperial Government in Paris had placed in him, who till then had been exiled and prosecuted. My surprise was even greater, for I thought, that he had come to Vienna rather to help M. de Talleyrand's affairs than to serve Napoleon's interests. And as a matter of fact M. de Montrond was charged with a private mission from Fouché to King Louis XVIII.'s former plenipotentiary at the Congress. He had alighted at the mansion of the French embassy. We used to meet each other by appointment at Vienna or in the gardens of Schönbrunn where he passed himself off as an amateur of horticulture and hothouse forcing, so as to deceive the numerous spies who followed us.

The Duc de Vicence in informing me that M. de Montrond was to bring back answers to the letters which he had to hand me, stated that the Emperor was without news of the Empress and his son, and that it was of extreme importance to him to know what he was to think about what interested him in Vienna. I made haste to answer M. de Caulaincourt. It was impossible to write in a letter all that I wanted to tell the Emperor. Nor could I foresee what questions I should have had to answer could I have seen Napoleon and have spoken with him. At the same

time my letter dealt with the principal points on which I thought that he required enlightenment. The letter which I wrote to the Duc de Vicence, and the draft of which I have found, contained particulars which must naturally find their place here. Although this letter was written in great haste and without any order, it has the merit—for want of a better—of offering a summary of the principal facts relating to the Emperor and the Empress, of retracing local impressions, and of presenting a character of actuality, if I may make use of an expression which is in great favour to-day.

This letter, the text of which follows, was deposited by chance in the archives of the Paris Foreign Office, where it still remains.

Copy of my Letter to the Duc de Vicence.

"VIENNA, APRIL 7th, 1815.

"MY LORD DUKE,

"Your note of March 26th was handed to me this morning. The French newspapers are carefully hidden by the Austrian ministry and by those of the allied princes who receive them. It is the German newspapers which give us any news of France. All the negotiations of the Congress have been suspended: everybody remains *in statu quo*, awaiting fortunate hazards. The troops are in movement in every direction. The Emperor of Austria is to follow the Emperor of Russia to Prague at the end of the month, to see the Russian troops. The Emperor of Russia is madly excited against our Emperor and supports and stimulates all the allies against him.

"It is said that he has sworn on the Gospel not to lay down arms as long as the Emperor is master of France. A treaty, with this purpose in view, was signed by the allied

ministers on March 25th; we are expecting its publication. The Emperor Alexander reviews the Austrian regiments as they leave Vienna or pass through it; he is accompanied by the hereditary prince alone. As long as he keeps the princes assembled either at Frankfort, whither he is proceeding, or anywhere else, he will animate them and keep their ardour against Napoleon alive, but it may be that they will grow tired of his fury, especially in consideration of the fact that their finances are exhausted and that their troops have stayed so long a time in Germany. There is reason to believe from what has transpired of the opinions of these princes, and from various speeches that have been made, that they will not be the first to enter into France.

"Paper stands to-day at 450, that is to say that 450 paper florins are only worth 100 silver florins. This depreciation, the end of which cannot be foreseen, is already making the Viennese grumble.

"The government here has just issued a loan of fifty million florins in paper, promising to pay the interest of two and a half per cent. in silver. This loan has accelerated the fall in paper.

"M. Bresson has left for Paris, charged with a mission, the object of which you are no doubt acquainted with.

"Two days ago, by a general order, the decoration of the Iron Crown was taken away from the Italian generals, with the promise that it would be replaced by a new decoration, which has not yet been decided upon.

"M. de Talleyrand is to-day an object of suspicion to the allies and everybody else. Any form of French government, democratic, monarchical, aristocratic, anything except Napoleon's government would suit the Emperor of Russia. If anybody can get anything from this prince, there is no doubt that it is you.

"I do not know when the Empress will go to France. I have no means of foreseeing such an event. The Cabinet here is far from being disposed to it at present. The Em-

press's mind has been so worked upon that she can think of a return to France only with terror. During the last six months all possible means have been used to turn her away from the Emperor. So that she should not be compromised by the confidence which she might have bestowed on the *Emperor's man*, I have not been allowed, for the last six months, to receive any orders from her. When by any chance I have been able to say a word to her, I have implored her to remain neutral and to sign nothing. But on several occasions she has been pressed to declare herself alien to the Emperor's plans, to place herself under the protection of her father and the allies, and to ask for the crown of Parma. General Neipperg, who is accredited to her by the Austrian Ministry and who has acquired great influence over her, has left for Italy. He has placed a certain Madame de Mitrowsky in her service, who is destined to be the young prince's governess, but who for the time being replaces Madame de Brignole of whose death you will have heard.

"On Sunday last happening to be alone at dinner with the Empress, H.M. told me after dinner that an act of the Congress which had just been signed assured her the possession of Parma; that for the time being the government of this duchy would be left to Austria who would pay her one hundred thousand francs a month; that she had been unable to obtain the reversion of these duchies for her son; that the son of the Queen of Etruria would be her heir, but that she would obtain the fiefs of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tuscany in Bohemia for her son, the total revenue of which amounted to about six hundred thousand francs; and that she had made an irrevocable resolution, namely, that she would never join the Emperor again. Pressed for the reason of so strange a resolution, after advancing several reasons which I undertook to destroy, she confessed that not having shared his disgrace she cannot share a prosperity which she had done nothing to bring about. She added that she had written nothing on this subject; that she reserved it to herself

to settle this matter with the Emperor as soon as she was able to write to him; that she is well aware that she will not be able to establish her son in Parma; that terrible as this sacrifice is she will submit to it; and that she has consulted only two persons, the Archduke Charles and a lawyer, who consider that nothing can stand in the way of this arrangement. You will recognize the influence of the Empress's uncles in this matter. However this may be, that is her dream to-day. I beg you to make such use of this information as your prudence may suggest to you. I am afraid of the effect that it will produce on the Emperor.

"On Easter Sunday the annexed note from King Joseph was brought me at six o'clock in the morning by a Swiss."

[This note informed me of the unhoped-for success of the Emperor's march through France and of his very speedy arrival in Paris, of his wish to re-establish pacific relations with Austria and the other powers, and of his hope that his wife and child would be restored to him. I was charged to communicate this information in a confidential manner to the Empress.]

"I was able to carry out this mission the same day, without showing the Princess the note, naming anybody, nor compromising the Emperor's name, because she had told me that she had sworn to her father that she would hand over to him everything that came to her from the Emperor. She therefore mentioned my name to her father as having been charged to beg her to give this assurance. The Emperor of Austria sent me his thanks through her, so she told me, no doubt to encourage me to name my correspondents and to tell her all I might learn in the future. This partial neutrality on the part of the Empress prevents me from unbosoming myself to her. I spoke to her to-day of M. de Vincent in a roundabout manner. She assured me that she had not

seen him, and had received nothing from him. She added that she had heard that he had not seen the Emperor but that he had seen you as well as M. Flahaut, that you wanted to give him some letters which he refused to take, that nevertheless she thinks that she remembers that her father spoke to her of a letter written to her which was brought by M. de Vincent's secretary who left Paris on the day after the ambassador's departure, but that her father would not give it to her as he did not wish her to communicate with the Emperor, any more than he himself wished to communicate with him. Whilst waiting for all this tangle to unravel itself and for the Empress to return to a better way of thinking, I speak to her of the happiness which the Emperor's return to France has brought to his country, of the impatience with which she is expected there, of the Emperor's desire to see her again, etc., etc., but I do it quietly because it is a topic which embarrasses her. All must be looked for from time and from the Emperor's moderation. However great my circumspection I am the victim of the lowest kind of espionage; a swarm of ignoble spies crawl around me and study my gestures, my steps, and my face. I fear that I may be kept here a long time; I want to breathe another air. I want to see you all again. My health is breaking up. It is only the Empress and her son who enjoy splendid health. The Empress has grown much stouter; the Prince Imperial is an angel of beauty, strength, and sweetness. Madame de Montesquiou weeps for him every day. This poor lady is treated with great severity, she is shut up in a small apartment of two rooms in a private house in Vienna. Her son who had obtained his passports for France was arrested at Lambach six days ago. He was brought back to Vienna and was kept in solitary confinement for four days. He was only restored to his mother, whose sole comfort he is, yesterday. He has given his word of honour not to leave Vienna without permission. It is to M. de Talleyrand's frequent applications on his behalf that he owes this alleviation of his

captivity. The particulars of the circumstances and causes which separated the young prince from his mother would take too long a time in describing, and besides I know that she is going to write to you.

"Prince Eugene left this morning at three o'clock in the suite of the King of Bavaria. He had come to Vienna to take the necessary steps for obtaining the establishment which was promised to him by the treaty of April 11th. He was received with suspicion and mistrust. At last, for the last three months he appeared to have won the Emperor Alexander's affection and used to walk out with him every day for two hours. Since the letters which were sent him from Paris on March 22nd last were seized the Emperor Alexander has stopped seeing him. So that the Congress might not separate without having done something for him, the principality of Ponte-Corvo was proposed to him, some days ago. A condition imposed was that he should not reside there until fresh circumstances had arisen but should go and live at Bayreuth with his family. On his refusal the Congress admitted that an establishment was due to him and that until it could be given to him, he should be placed in the enjoyment of his estates and revenues in Italy; but till to-day, April 7th, no orders have been given.

"Last night at half-past twelve, Prince Eugene had not received his passports. Since April 3rd they have been deliberating as to whether they ought to be given to him. They wanted him to give his word of honour that he would not leave Bavaria but he refused to do so as he is not a prisoner of war. He intends to stay one or two weeks in Munich to take the princess and his children, and to accompany them to Bayreuth.

"During the last six months I have written several letters to General Bertrand and have sent him two pamphlets. I do not know whether he has received them."

(P.S.—this 8th April.)

"I wrote to you yesterday in great haste and without any order. I have a thousand other things to tell you which it would take ages to write. What I venture to commend to your prudence is what relates to the Empress's person; this princess is good at heart, but for the time being she is under foreign influences."

In the preceding letter I have spoken of Prince Eugene, but I neither said how nor why Napoleon's stepson found himself in Vienna. We related that after the fall of the Empire, the Viceroy of Italy had been forced to take refuge in Munich and that then he had been sent for to Paris by his mother the Empress Josephine. Prince Eugene was well received there by the Bourbons and the allied sovereigns, and particularly by the Emperor of Russia who pressed him to come to Vienna during the Congress. Alexander appointed a meeting with him in the Austrian capital, promising him to support his claims for the establishment which had been stipulated for him by Article VIII of the Treaty of Frankfort. In Vienna the preponderating influence exercised by the Emperor Alexander had won the favour of the Austrian Government, and of the other sovereigns assembled in congress, for Prince Eugene. He was treated like a royal prince and invited to all the fêtes. Napoleon's return from the island of Elba, to which the Emperor of Russia suspected Prince Eugene of having contributed, put an end to the friendly relations which had existed between them till then. The Emperor Alexander bore a grudge against Prince Eugene as long as he remained in Vienna. It was only at the time of his visit to Munich, whither the prince had retired, that the Czar restored him to his

friendship. So lavishly had the territories been distributed that there remained nothing available to be given to Prince Eugene, in execution of the treaty of Fontainebleau which assured him an establishment outside France. A decision taken under the Emperor Alexander's influence converted this stipulation of the treaty of April 11th—concerning the Empress Josephine's son—into an indemnity, the amount of which was to be taken out of the Kingdom of Naples and which should be the equivalent of a principality of fifty thousand inhabitants. Prince Eugene estimated the total value at twelve million francs, but the Neapolitan Government reduced this indemnity to five millions. The estates which the prince derived from the Kingdom of Italy, and the endowments which the Emperor had bestowed upon him in Rome and Lombardy, were left in his possession. Two million seven hundred thousand francs which he had left on his departure in the Italian treasury were restored to him. And finally the King of Bavaria, his father-in-law, vested him with the principality of Eichstadt taken from the Bavarian States. Prince Eugene was at the same time created premier peer of the Kingdom of Bavaria, (taking precedence after the princes of the royal family,) and Duke of Leuchtenberg. A regiment of Bavarian chasseurs was further given to him.

Count Las Cases, on his return from St. Helena, had a communication to make to Prince Eugene, which the latter received after having been authorized to do so by his father-in-law the King of Bavaria. In 1814, the Emperor had deposited with Count Lavalette, a sum of sixteen hundred thousand francs, which he hid under the flooring of one of the rooms

in the château of La Verrière, an estate in the neighbourhood of Rambouillet which belonged to him. The château was occupied by the allied troops who, fortunately did not discover the treasure. After their departure, Count de Lavalette, alarmed for the safety of the trust confided to his keeping, begged Prince Eugene to take upon himself to keep one half of the amount. The Prince made various payments, and held at Napoleon's disposal during the last two or three years of the Emperor's life, twenty thousand francs a month, which he took from the fund in his keeping. When this fund was on the point of being exhausted, Eugene asked the members of the imperial family to contribute their share of expenses the object of which might be considered sacred. Napoleon's death happening in the meantime put an end to the negotiations which had been entered upon for this purpose.*

Prince Eugene died in February, 1824, less than a year after the marriage of his eldest daughter to Prince Oscar, son of the King of Sweden—Bernadotte. Thus, unless anything happens to prevent it, the throne of Sweden, which Napoleon wanted to give to Prince Eugene in 1810 will descend to his daughter.†

The two main points in my letter to the Duc de

* M. Thiers makes no reference to this allowance in his account of Napoleon's last years at Longwood, where, according to this historian, the Emperor was practically reduced to financial embarrassment in consequence of the parsimony of the English Government towards their illustrious prisoner. He states that for some time Napoleon was forced to sell his plate at James Town to meet his household expenses, after the reduction made by Hudson Lowe in the sum allotted for the same by the English Government.—R. H. S.

† Nothing did happen to prevent it. Josephine, eldest daughter of the Duke of Leuchtenberg, who married Prince Oscar, succeeded to the throne with him, as King Oscar I., in 1844, and shared it with him till his death in 1859. She died in 1876, at the age of sixty-nine.—R. H. S.

Vicence were the obligation enforced upon the Empress Marie Louise to consent to her son's forfeiture of the right of succession to the States of Parma, and her determination never to reunite herself to the Emperor. On considering what had been going on around me during the preceding six months, I had understood that some unfortunate *dénouement* of the critical situation in which so many events had placed the Empress must be expected. This princess, deprived of all protection, surrounded by pitfalls, led astray by perfidious advice, had become the too docile instrument of unscrupulous politicians. In spite of my previsions, which had never been very optimistic, I was painfully affected to see that Marie Louise abandoned the only line of conduct which any care for her own glory ought to have kept steadfastly before her.

Amongst the reasons which decided the Empress to leave her son in Vienna and to go and establish herself in Parma without him, she gave the following, to which no allusion is made in my letter: that she was forced to make this sacrifice, painful as it was, because it was in her son's interest. She added that, if she did not obtain the sovereignty of some State of some importance, she would be able to do nothing for him; whereas, once established in Parma, it would be possible for her to save five hundred thousand francs a year, which, added to the revenues of the fiefs in Bohemia, would assure an independent position to her son after her death. I permitted myself to answer the Empress, that pecuniary considerations had very little weight in the position in which her son found himself placed; that if his name and quality as Napoleon's son did not make him great enough and

recommend him sufficiently to the sympathy of the world, a million francs a year would not compensate him for the loss of the rank from which he had been cast down; that she could not resign herself thus to the disinheriting of her son, who, already deprived of his paternal inheritance was also being stripped of his maternal inheritance by an unjust decision on the part of the Congress, and who in consequence would live outside the pale of the law, without fatherland, without a title, and, so to say, without a name—for nobody would know how to call him. With regard to the idea which she had expressed of separating herself from the Emperor I did not fail to remind Marie Louise of the affection of which Napoleon had so often given her proof, and of the grief which he had felt at the obstacles which were placed in the way of their meeting, obstacles the responsibility of which he was very far from attributing to her. I spoke finally of the pain which her husband would feel at a separation the whole blame of which would fall upon her. I told her that she would be received in France like an angel of peace, and that the boon of her return would win her the eternal gratitude of the French nation; that I hoped that she would change her mind and give up the violent resolution, in forming which she could have consulted neither her heart nor her interests. I assured her that if she would make a statement in exactly the contrary sense expressing herself forcibly, this manifestation of her will would have very great weight. All that I could say on this matter made very little impression on Marie Louise. She repeated that she had not been able to consult her own feelings nor to rely on her own judgment in

a question where such grave interests were involved; that the advice of her uncle Charles and a lawyer had dispelled her uncertainty; that moreover she had signed nothing and would sign nothing before she had come to an understanding with the Emperor Napoleon; that she had fully made up her mind not to consent to any divorce from him, but that she personally would come to a friendly agreement for their separation with him as soon as she had liberty to write to him. I gave my letters to M. de Montrond begging him not to deliver them to anybody but the Duc de Vicence. He promised me to do so, and faithfully carried out his mission. I learnt later, on my return to France, that this minister had immediately taken the letters to the Emperor. Napoleon, in his anxiety to receive news from Vienna, wanted to read the original copy, and therefore the precaution which I had wanted to take when I asked the minister to make prudent use of my communication was of no avail. I asked M. de Montrond before his departure if he had been charged with any messages from M. de Talleyrand. M. de Montrond gave me to understand that this minister could for the time being be of no service whatever to the Emperor's cause. As a matter of fact the hostilities of the allies against Napoleon, and the array of force which they were marshalling against him, were so great that any wish to serve the Napoleonic cause would have been considered a crime in the eyes of the allied powers. It certainly could not be M. de Talleyrand who would defy the resentment which an attitude, so little in conformity with his character, and so audacious, would have excited aganst him in the coalition.

CHAPTER VII.

News of the Austrian Army from Naples—Retrospective Glance on King Joachim's Expedition—His Negotiations with Lord Bentinck—His Feelings and His Calculations—His Treaty of Peace with Austria—His Convention with Lord Bentinck—Promise of a Definite Treaty Which is Not Realized —Pretext for the Non-payment of an Indemnity Due to the King of Sicily—The Neapolitan Army Enters the Field—King Joachim's Mistrust is Dissipated—Assurances Given by Sir Robert Wilson—Lord Bentinck Renews His Adherence to the Treaty with Austria—Efforts of the French Ambassador at the Congress to Overthrow King Joachim—The English Ambassadors Secretly Support Them—Austria's Hesitation—Communications Between King Joachim and the Island of Elba—The King's March to Florence —Reverse at Occhiobello—Loss of the Battle of Tolentino—Routing and Dispersion of the Neapolitan Army—The King's Return to Naples—He Retires to the Island of Ischia—He Embarks for France—His Arrival at Cannes—The Queen Asks to be Taken with Her Children to Toulon—She is Conducted to Trieste—The Emperor's Refusal to Allow Joachim to Go to Paris—The King's Critical Situation After the Return of Louis XVIII.— Return to Paris—He is Forced to Hide Himself and Change his Abode Frequently—His Letters to Fouché—Marquis de Rivière Advises Him to Give Himself Up to Him—The King's Refusal—A Price is Set upon His Head—He Determines to Make His Way to Corsica by Havre—He is Prevented by Complications of Misfortunes—He Wanders About in the Country—Kind Reception Which is Given Him in a Farm—Murderers go to Look for Him—He Escapes Them—His Letters to the Authorities of the Department and to King Louis XVIII.—He Embarks for Corsica in an Open Boat—He Risks Going to the Bottom—Received on Board the Toulon Packet at Bastia—Friendly Reception Given to Him at Vescovato—He is Persecuted by the Commander of Bastia—Joachim Proceeds to Ajaccio with Four Hundred Defenders—He Arms a Flotilla There—He Receives an Offer of Refuge in Austria—Tenor of This Document—He Refuses to Take Advantage of it—His Reasons—His Letters to M. Macirone—He Leaves to Conquer Naples—He Lands at Pizzo—He Fails in His Attempt —He is Unable to Embark—He is Made Prisoner and Brought Before a Court-Martial—He is Condemned to Death, and Meets His Death with Intrepidity—His Letter to the Queen—Reflections, etc.

I HAVE related how the King of Naples had made up his mind to act on the offensive. The Austrian manifesto had been published in the official Gazette of Vienna, and war had broken out between the two States. Each day different reports were current as to the march of the Neapolitan troops, as well as to the advantages which had not yet been obtained by the

Austrian army; these reports kept all minds in suspense.

The events of this campaign excited the greatest interest, especially at Schönbrunn. Archduke Rainier came to see the Empress one day and informed her that General Neipperg had marched 5000 men against a corps of Neapolitan troops near Medina, that he had defeated them, and had taken 800 prisoners; that he had taken the fort of Carpi by surprise and captured it with his cavalry alone, this ranking with General Lasalle's feat of arms at the taking of Stettin during the Jena campaign. Finally, it was said, that after several fruitless attacks on Occhiobello to force a crossing over the Po, King Joachim had been obliged to retreat. Such were the reports which were circulating in Vienna during the whole month of April.

Before relating the sad issue of the struggle which the King of Naples had entered upon with Austria, I must throw a retrospective glance on the causes which decided the unhappy Murat to take so desperate a resolution. After having left the French army in Posen on January 16th, 1813, the King immediately returned to Naples. He felt that his crown would be in danger by the consequence of the failure of the war against Russia. He lent his ear to the insinuating proposals made to him by Austria—Austria maintains that Joachim took the initiative. *Pourparlers* took place with the English General, William Bentinck. The King offered, without the Emperor's sanction to do so, to mediate between France and hostile powers. However, the remembrance of the glory which he had won under the French flag, the feeling of what he owed to the country where he had been born and raised to a high rank, his gratitude to and attachment for Napoleon

brought him back into the midst of his brothers-in-arms during the 1813 campaign. The fatal project which he had been turning over in his mind so long a time past, and to which a new impetus was given by the battle of Leipzig, recalled him a second time to Italy. At Erfurth he took what was to be a last farewell of the Emperor, and then returned to Naples. He was more than ever convinced that Napoleon's power was shaken to its foundation, and that it would not be long before he would succumb, without any possibility of saving him. The Neapolitans, who had King Joachim's confidence, maintained him in this way of thinking by false or true reports which contributed to lead him astray. Fouché's advice finally persuaded him that the time had at last come when he must separate his fortunes from Napoleon. This calculation was based on a principle which proceeded from a feeling of generosity which calls for indulgence, and diminishes the culpability of his desertion; he had said to himself that if he, the King of Naples, the only ally remaining to Napoleon, were to be dragged down with Napoleon in a common fall, all hope would be for ever lost, but that if on the contrary he remained standing on the ruins of the Empire he would have the chance of being useful to his benefactor and of being able to hold out his hand to him. The splendour of such a rôle dazzled him. It must be admitted also that a less chivalrous motive had great influence on his determination. He had learnt as a fact, and supposed friends had assured him of it, that it was Napoleon's intention to incorporate the State of Naples into the Kingdom of Italy. According to these rumours it was proposed to offer the dethroned monarch an indemnity, which, no matter how

great it might be, could not be an equivalent of the crown of Naples—a crown which he hoped to transmit to his children. Murat had accordingly come to the conclusion that his throne would not be in safety so long as Napoleon's rule remained preponderant in Italy. It was thus that he was brought to re-enter upon negotiations, which he now approached without the same advantages on his side as formerly. On January 11th; 1814, after a violent struggle between his good and evil genius, Murat signed an offensive and defensive alliance with Austria, who went surety for her allies. By this treaty Joachim engaged to pursue the war against France, assisted by the united efforts of the allied powers, in the re-establishment of a fair balance of power; and to assure peace to Europe and particularly to Italy, where the two contracting states mutually guaranteed each other's possessions. The avowed object of this treaty was to limit Napoleon's Empire to the Alps, the Rhine, and the Pyrenees. But Joachim, trusting in the apparent force of the bonds which attached the Austrian Emperor to Napoleon's family, could not imagine that the war against France would be transformed into a personal war against the daughter of the said Emperor of Austria, against his son-in-law, and his grandson. General Neipperg, Prince Metternich's great agent in seduction, was sent to Naples to conclude this treaty. Lord W. Bentinck arrived in Naples at the same time and signed a convention with the Neapolitan Government, which was simply entituled an armistice but which proclaimed the State of Naples as at peace with England. Free communication was re-established between the two States, and the ports of both countries were reciprocally opened to trade,

whilst the Neapolitan flag was acknowledged and protected by England.

The covenant concluded with General Bentinck was considered as being virtually of the same strength as a treaty, and was reserved for signature on a future occasion, it having been recognized as necessary not to lose any time in deciding on the plan of the campaign in which the Austrian, English, and Neapolitan troops were to take part. Lord Aberdeen was to receive the full necessary powers for the conclusion of a definite treaty at a subsequent period. The convention was the preliminary of this treaty. One of the articles of this convention stipulated that in case any unforeseen event stood in the way of its ratification, the two parties undertook not to recommence hostilities before having given each other due preliminary notification. We shall see lower down with what object this clause was inserted. The promise of a definite treaty was never concluded, the English Government, whose good faith was with good reason open to suspicion, having alleged that if it put off concluding this treaty, it was by motives of delicacy and honour which did not allow it to impose on a prince allied to England (the King of Sicily) a sacrifice of his hereditary states before an indemnity had been paid to him. Letters from Lord Castlereagh containing the engagement to carry out this covenant faithfully were communicated to the King. Thus the English Government had only bound itself towards the King of Naples by a military convention, a convention which the occurrences of war might modify entirely.

In the meanwhile King Joachim, full of confidence, immediately opened the campaign, and marched

upon Bologna without having the ratification of the treaty with Austria. A variety of circumstances inspired him for a short time with doubts as to the sincerity of his allies. The delay of the Emperor of Austria's ratification showed that there was some hesitation on the part of this prince. The equivocal attitude of Lord Bentinck, who was placed at the head of the Sicilian troops, manifested to the former sovereign of the Two Sicilies that these troops were intended to conquer back again the throne which had been usurped at Naples, the summonses addressed to the generals and the officers of King Joachim's army to induce them to pronounce themselves against the reigning dynasty, all these threatening communications troubled King Murat as well they might. On another side the declaration of Sir Robert Wilson, English commissioner with the Austrian army in Italy, charged by Lord Bentinck as well as by Marshal Bellegarde, to dissipate all misunderstanding, tended to reassure the reigning sovereign of Naples. General Wilson declared to him that he considered Lord Castlereagh's letters containing promises of a formal treaty, as documents of a value equal to a treaty itself, and that neither the British parliament nor any executive authority would hesitate to recognize the validity of such an engagement. In his personal opinion, the English commissioner said, this promise was more binding than a regular treaty because it constituted at the same time an appeal to honour, and an obligation of good faith. Lord Bentinck himself hastened to King Joachim's head-quarters and declared anew that his government fully adhered to the treaty concluded on January 11th between the Emperor of Austria and the King of Naples. He also confirmed England's consent

to the advantages stipulated in Murat's favour, that is to say, the cession of the Marches of Ancona, on condition that the Neapolitan army should give its immediate and active co-operation to the allies. The non-payment of the indemnity due to the King of Sicily still remained the only alleged cause of delay in the conclusion of a formal and definite treaty. Murat contented himself with these explanations and no longer hesitated. Whilst the King of Naples was relying on the good faith of the allies, with whom he was making common cause, the ambassador of France at the Congress of Vienna was making every effort to obtain from the Austrian Government that they should break off this alliance with Napoleon's brother-in-law. Talleyrand was seconded in his task by the English ambassadors who, hiding their double game, pressed Austria to undertake what they called the Holy War of Legitimacy, against a sovereign with whom this power was bound by a treaty and to whom she had guaranteed the integrity of his states. The Austrian Government, whilst listening to these proposals, adjourned its final acquiescence, alleging as an excuse that its finances were exhausted. The English minister offered to dispose of this difficulty by paying the cost of this expedition and even consented to assist the Austrians in their movements with an English fleet. When King Joachim was informed of these treacherous negotiations, he was either in ignorance of the part which the English ministers had taken in it, or else he closed his eyes against proof. When it became impossible to doubt any longer that he would sooner or later be attacked by Austria he decided to prepare himself thoroughly to repel any aggression. He entered into communications with the Is-

land of Elba and obtained from Napoleon that he would forget what had passed, and once more made common cause with him in secret.

Whilst this redoubtable adversary of the allies, leaving the obscure retreat from the depths of which he still made them tremble, went off to reconquer his Empire with one battalion of his faithful guard, the King of Naples attacked the Austrians, and drove them back from position to position to the banks of the Po. Fickle fortune who had so long protected her two favourites, luring them on with her last favours, was soon to swallow them up in the abyss. Murat advanced rapidly upon Reggio, having directed his right flank on Occhiobello and his left on Florence. Pushing his outposts as far as Pistoia he marched in the direction of Milan, where he was expected, believing that he had only to deal with the Austrians. Flattering himself with the thought that the English would not interfere in his quarrel with Austria, he gave satisfaction to the request which was addressed to him by Lord Bentinck, not to violate the territory of the King of Sardinia, who was England's ally. This condescension on his part was to become fatal to him. Crossing a corner of the Piedmontese territory Murat could easily have crossed the Po at Piacenza which was then in a very weak state of defence. He directed his principal efforts against Occhiobello, which he was unable to carry by storm. His respect for the Sardinian frontier did not preserve him from the discomfiture which a treacherous enemy inflicted upon him in notifying to him that a union of the English forces to the Austrian army had been effected, on the pretext that the King of Naples had violated the convention between him and England, a

convention, one of the stipulations of which provided that he should not attack them without having given three months notice of his intention of doing so.*

Joachim then repented that he had not remained on the defensive in conformity with his agreement with the Emperor Napoleon, and of having yielded to the repeated and pressing requests which his ambassadors in Vienna and in London had addressed to him, to urge him to act on the defensive. Not allowing himself to be cast down, however, by a blow which had not altogether taken him by surprise, Joachim undertook to re-establish his forces by means of a decisive act. He assembled his army, which was still of a strength of more than 30,000 men, in a retrenched camp between Ancona and Rimini. Two days later he gave a great battle with the Austrians which lasted two days in the plain of Tolentina. The Neapolitan army, weakened and demoralized by previous defeats, succumbed to the force of an enemy numerically superior, in spite of the prodigies of valour of its chief. Disbanded, and the greater part cut off by the Austrian troops, some fell into their power. The rest fled towards Naples and dispersed in every direction. This retreat would have been perhaps less disastrous had not General Pignatelli-Strongoli, who commanded the left wing of the Neapolitan army, prematurely quitted Florence, leaving the road open to Rome to

* The convention provided, as we have already said, that *in case of non-ratification* hostilities should not be recommenced until after a notification given three months in advance. Lord Bentinck had not considered the declarations contained in Lord Castlereagh's letter, and communicated to the King and the positive assurances of the English General, Wilson, which had been renewed by Lord Bentinck himself as the equivalent of a ratification. O Punica fides!

the Austrian General Nugent. Some attribute this disastrous negligence on the Neapolitan general's part to want of order, others to treachery. This fatal incident, the false reports of Murat's death and of the landing of the English in Naples, the open treachery of certain officers who propagated discouragement and desertion by their speeches and by their example; all these causes together caused a panic in the Neapolitan army. Joachim, abandoned by his people, had nothing left to do but to return to Naples. He arrived there followed by some horsemen. He entered his capital accompanied by Colonel Bonafous, his nephew, and four lancers. He went straight to the palace where he appeared before the Queen, pale and emaciated, in his lancer's uniform, covered with dust. He embraced his wife tenderly and said to her: "All is lost except my life, and I was not fortunate enough to find death." In taking leave of the Queen and his children, King Joachim cut his hair, which fell in long ringlets on his shoulders, and putting off his decorations dressed himself in clothes which did not attract attention. He walked along the coast until he was opposite the Island of Nisida, and there got into a boat which landed him on the Island of Ischia, where he passed three days without being recognized. On the fourth day, as he was walking along the beach accompanied by his faithful nephew, and was deliberating with him on the best means for escaping to France, he noticed a little sailing ship on the east which was approaching them. The king hailed this vessel and flinging himself into a fishing smack, ordered its owner to go and meet it. What were his surprise and joy when he recognized on board the Duke of Rocca-Romana, his Grand Equerry, and Marquis

Giulani, his aide-de-camp, who had succeeded in escaping from Naples, and who were looking for their unfortunate sovereign. The King before his final departure from Naples had divided a considerable sum in gold between these two officers, and had told them of his plan of going to Ischia with his nephew and of embarking there for France. Their meeting, which had been delayed by obstacles as one can easily understand, having thus fortunately been effected, the king landed in Cannes with his faithful companions towards the end of May, 1815, after a crossing which had been disturbed by no incident.

During the Odyssey which we have just related Queen Caroline had opened negotiations with Lord Exmouth, who was commander of the English fleet before Naples, offering him two Neapolitan ships of war on condition that she should be transported to Toulon with her children, whom she had already placed in safety at Gaëta; but Admiral Exmouth, who knew that the ships would be his in any case, refused to receive the Queen except to conduct her to Trieste, and to place her in the hands of the Austrian authorities. Forced to submit to these humiliating conditions, and having fortunately escaped the effects of a riot which she quelled by her courage and calmness, Caroline Murat embarked on the English frigate, and making sail for Gaëta where Napoleon's sister took in her young family, she was conducted to Trieste. King Joachim immediately on landing in Cannes, wrote to Fouché charging him to speak for him to the Emperor and to ask the latter to allow him to go to Paris. Napoleon's only answer was to ask his brother-in-law what treaty of peace had been concluded between France and Naples since 1814. Fouché in consequence

advised Murat to remain where he was, adding that it was still possible for him to render service to his native country by exciting the inhabitants and the troops to vigorous resistance to the enemies within and without—a kind of service which Murat was never to render, for he had no weight whatever with the French, who did not forget his desertion in 1814. Murat then retired into a little country house in the neighbourhood of Toulon.

In the meanwhile took place the battle of Waterloo, in consequence of which Napoleon definitely abdicated in favour of his son and a provisional government commission entered into functions. After Louis XVIII. returned to Paris, Joachim who until then had been protected by the Imperial authorities found himself placed in a most critical position. He was forced to quit the retreat where he had passed six weeks without being interfered with. Exposed to danger by murderers, who were seeking for him to kill him, he dared not go out to change his refuge except in the night, fearing if he were taken to have to submit to the fate of the unfortunate Marshal Brune.* Murat had spread the report that he had escaped to Tunis, but his persecutors did not long remain the dupes of this strategy. The Marquis de Rivière, the same who had been condemned to death for his co-operation in Georges's conspiracy, and whose pardon Murat had obtained, wrote to him and advised him to surrender into his hands. M. de Rivière exhorted Joachim to trust to the humanity and good faith of the King of France, as well as to the word of Lord Exmouth who associated

* Guillaume-Marie-Anne Brune, Marshal of France (1763—1815) was murdered at Avignon, shortly after the battle of Waterloo, at the instigation of Royalist agents. His murderers were never punished.—R. H. S.

himself in this application. The letter which I have just spoken of was handed to King Joachim by a M. Joliclerc, general commissary of police, who knew Murat's hiding-place, and who refused to reveal it. His refusal to become an instrument of treachery procured this honourable man's dismissal from his post. Joachim, having declined Marquis de Rivière's offer, as he might be expected to do, would not have any more confidence in Admiral Exmouth, who had previously refused him an asylum on board his fleet whilst awaiting the decision of the allied powers about him, unable to find any safety in France made up his mind to go to Havre and to proceed thence to Corsica.* With this purpose in view Duke de Rocca Romana freighted a vessel and embarked for this port with Colonel Bonafous and two of the king's servants, and they were charged with his money and his clothes. As soon as they were on board they were to send a boat to a distant point in the bay of Toulon where the king would hold himself in readiness to embark. Unfortunately the boat went out of its way, and after having searched for the King in vain returned to the ship without having found him. The murderers, who had heard of this plan of escape and who thought that Joachim had gone in the boat, boarded the vessel and, unable to find the man whom they were looking for, obliged the captain to hoist sail forthwith. The king left his hiding-place after nightfall and tried to find the boat, but as he was in ignorance of the mistake which had occurred, passed the night in the most anxious

* Méneval probably means America. There would be no good in going right across France to Havre in order to embark for Corsica, which was within easy reach of Toulon.—R. H. S.

waiting. As soon as the day broke he ran along the shore climbing up every eminence to try to discover the vessel which meant freedom for him. He at last saw it under sail, but was unable to find any means of drawing attention to himself. Each moment removed the ship further and further away from his eyes, until at last he lost sight of it altogether. Heart-broken with this new misfortune Murat did not know what was to become of him. Fortunately, however, in the midst of his misfortunes he did not return to the asylum which he had left, and it was well he did not do so for he would have fallen into the hands of his persecutors, who not having found him on board the vessel hoped to lay hands upon him in this retreat. The wretched man walked as chance guided his steps, avoiding the neighbourhood of the ports and big buildings, and wandered thus for several days and nights through the woods and the vineyards. Finding barely enough to eat, worn out by fatigue, urged on by hunger, the unhappy proscript ventured to enter a farm. He only found an old woman there, and introducing himself to her as an officer of the Toulon garrison who had lost his way asked her to give him something to eat. The good woman receiving him with cordiality told him that in the absence of her master who had gone out for a walk she would make him an omelette. Whilst she was busying herself in preparing it the master of the house* returned. Seeing a stranger sitting at his table he asked for another omelette and sat down by the side of his guest to share this modest repast with him. The resemblance

* Unfortunately the author has not recorded the name of this generous protector of the unfortunate and illustrious proscript.

between the stranger and the portrait of the King of Naples which he had seen in the Imperial Hall at the Tuileries Palace struck the new-comer. He told the King so, and Murat confessed who he was. This excellent man then rose with tears in his eyes, begging the King to forgive him for the liberty with which he had acted towards him, and placed himself and everything he possessed at his entire disposal. The good wife troubled by this sudden recognition, hearing what her master said, was seized with a fit of nervous trembling and dropped the omelette which she held in her hand.

The King remained hidden in this house for several days whilst its owner, who was a naval officer, busied himself in conjunction with some friends whom he had taken into the secret with the best ways of providing for the subsistence and wants of his illustrious guest. In the meanwhile the King's enemies, excited by the hope of getting hold of the gold and diamonds which they believed he carried with him, had been hunting for him with renewed activity. The old woman who was charged to guard King Joachim discharged this duty with indefatigable perseverance. She watched all night whilst he was asleep, sitting at the window of the house, which was situated on an eminence, from which she could see all that was going on around. During the night of August 13th, a gang of about sixty men came up the path which led to the house where Murat was hiding, but the vigilant old woman saw them by the light of a lantern which they were carrying. Suspecting their evil purpose she hastened to waken the King and told him of the danger which he was running. Joachim was sleeping in his clothes, his dagger and two pairs of pistols beside him. He covered himself with all

speed with a great frock coat under which he hid his arms, and then this intrepid Paladin, this fearless knight, who so many a time had confronted death at the wars, was forced to hide himself under the foliage of a vine which was situated less than thirty paces from his refuge. Barely had he got out of the house when it was surrounded. The old woman had shut the door to get rid of the mattress on which the king had been sleeping and put everything in order in his room. She kept the brigands waiting outside the door, pretending that she had to dress herself. As soon as she had opened the door they rushed into the house, searching everywhere, whilst some of them explored the garden and the vineyards, passing and repassing many times near the spot where the King was hidden, vomiting forth imprecations against him, expressing their hopes of finding him, of taking him alive or of killing him, and of sharing his spoils. Joachim's mind was fully made up, in case he were discovered, to rush upon his murderers and to sell his life dearly; and, rather than fall into their hands, to blow his brains out with his own hands. Having escaped from this danger he returned to the house because he thought that as it had been searched through and through he would be safer there than anywhere else. His faithful host had given it up to him and had gone to sleep in the city, so as to divert attention from it. The unfortunate Joachim had addressed himself to the authorities of the department to ask for their protection, assuring them of his firm resolution not to trouble public repose either by words or by acts. At the same time he wrote to Louis XVIII. appealing to his generosity and magnanimity, but he received no answer to his

letter. Tired at last with uselessly awaiting a message from the allies, under whose protection he pressingly demanded to place himself, he began to despair of ever receiving it. It was impossible for him to remain in hiding any longer. A price had been placed on his person, or rather on his head; 24,000 francs reward was offered to the man who should give him up. That meant the sale of his life, because it was very well known that he would not be taken alive. In this terrible position he did not know what would become of him. There was no chance of safety for him in a journey by land and it was too late to go and join the Duke of Rocca-Romana and his nephew at Havre.

Corsica was the only country which could offer him an asylum. The adventurous character of the inhabitants of this island, with their mountains, and the thick jungles in their woods, offered him a safe retreat until the day when the intentions of the allies with reference to his person would be known to him. It was accordingly decided upon that the King and his host should make an attempt to reach Corsica in an open boat. The King's host offered himself to conduct this expedition with the assistance of his friends. On August 22nd Joachim wrote to Fouché to inform him of his plan, and on the evening of the same day he embarked at Toulon with his three friends. On the 24th a violent storm broke out. The fragile boat kept filling with water, which they were forced to bale out with their hats. In the afternoon, seeing a ship sailing in an opposite direction, they approached it and asked to be taken on board, offering the captain a sum of money to take them to Bastia. The captain of this ship, which was

freighted with wines for Toulon, alarmed at being thus accosted by four men who were heavily armed, and whom he suspected of having evil designs, not only refused their offer but did his best to sink their boat, and probably would have succeeded in doing so, but for the coolness and skill of the King and his companions, who thanks to their presence of mind were enabled to escape this danger. Under the first impulses of their indignation they wanted to board the ship and revenge themselves on the ill-conditioned crew, but on reflection, however, they abandoned this plan. A few minutes later the King and his friends were fortunate enough to fall in with the packet which plied regularly between Toulon and Bastia.

It was in the nick of time, for it would have been no longer possible for them to keep afloat. Their boat had been seriously damaged by the storm and in the course of the encounter which they had engaged in against the trading vessel. The King met several eminent people on board the packet-boat to whom he was known, and who were leaving the South of France from motives of prudence. Murat spent a day at Bastia, and on the morrow proceeded with his three comrades to Vescovato, which is a big village fifteen miles to the south of Bastia. He went straight up to the biggest house, which belonged to M. de Colonna-Ceccaldi, mayor of this village, who was a warm partisan of the Bourbons for whose cause he had endured many years of exile. M. Ceccaldi enjoyed a well-merited reputation for uprightness and generosity in the country. The King disclosed himself to him, informing him of the reasons which obliged him to seek refuge in Corsica, and begged him to grant him his hospitality until it would be

possible for him to know the decision of the allied sovereigns with reference to him. M. Colonna-Ceccaldi received King Joachim with respect, and assured him that the laws of hospitality were sacred to the Corsicans: he added that no order emanating from the Government obliged the subjects of the King of France to treat a Frenchman who had been sovereign of Naples as an enemy. The King had the greatest satisfaction in meeting one of his aides-de-camp in this house, an officer named Franceschetti, who had retired there quite recently with his wife, M. de Ceccaldi's daughter.

In the meanwhile the commander of the town of Bastia having heard of King Joachim's presence in Corsica sent him orders to consider himself a prisoner until the King of France's decision concerning him should be made known. Murat refused to obey the orders of an officer in whom he recognized no authority whatever over his person. The military commander of Bastia then declared Joachim the enemy of Louis XVIII., and a perturbator of the public peace. He sent some hundred soldiers to Vescovato to capture him, but in the meanwhile M. Ceccaldi's friends and relations had united to repel this attempt at violence, for they considered it their bounden duty and a point of honour to assist in defending their host's glorious guest, who had placed himself under the protection of their hospitality. To this force which in the course of a few days had reached the number of over six hundred men who had hastened from every point in the island, two hundred more men, veterans and for the most part officers who had formerly served under the King's orders, and who had come back home after the fall of the Empire, added themselves.

The soldiers who had been sent from Bastia might consider themselves very lucky to be able to return without injury. The men who had helped King Joachim urged him to seize upon Bastia and even the whole of the island, promising him the assistance of the troops and of the greater part of the inhabitants. Murat thanked these good people for their zeal, but had no hesitation in saying that he considered himself a fugitive who had come to Corsica in search of hospitality alone, and had no right to make any attempt against the sovereignty of King Louis XVIII. Three weeks having passed by without his having received any answer whatever to his letters from the allies, which made him suppose that he was abandoned and proscribed by the European powers, and persuaded that there was no other resource for him than to listen to the promptings of his despair, he took the resolution to endeavour to win back his crown by conquest, even were he to find death in the adventure. To avoid coming to blows with the superior commander of Bastia, Murat left Vescovato. He accepted the service of four hundred men selected amongst the braves who had offered him their help, and proceeded with them to Ajaccio. On his approach the authorities of the town retired with the exception of the mayor, who remained behind to protect public peace. The inhabitants received King Joachim with respect and his troops behaved with absolute discipline. The King refused the hospitality which was offered to him in private houses, so as to compromise nobody, and went to live in an inn. It was there that he arranged for the purchase of five ships, and collected the arms and ammunition necessary for his expedition. These preparations lasted several days.

Whilst the adventures of which we have spoken were taking place, one of King Joachim's aides-de-camp of British origin, Captain Macirone, who happened to be in Paris for reasons which have nothing to do with this story, and from whose book I have already taken a great part of these particulars,* and who was busying himself to be useful to King Murat, knowing Fouché's former relations with his dethroned king, had approached this minister, who had made use of his services with the Duke of Wellington at a time when the Duke of Otranto was secretly treating with the English general. Macirone taking advantage of his relations with Lord Wellington had implored the latter's aid to obtain from M. de Metternich the promise of a refuge in Austria for King Joachim, and he had succeeded in his application as will be seen by reading the following document:

"M. Macirone is authorized by these presents to inform King Joachim that his Majesty the Emperor of Austria will grant him an asylum in his States under the following conditions:

"1. The King will take the name of a private person. The Queen having assumed the name of Lipona † it is proposed that the King should do so also.

"2. The King will be at liberty to select a town in Bohemia, Moravia, or in Upper Austria, and to take up his abode there. Should he wish to settle in the country there would be no objection to his doing so in the same provinces.

"3. The King will give his word of honour to his Imperial and Royal Majesty not to leave the Austrian States without the express sanction of His said Majesty, that he will live as a distinguished private person who is subject to the laws in

* "Interesting Facts Relating to the Fall and Death of Joachim Murat."
† Anagram on the word *Napoli*.—R. H. S.

force in the Austrian States, in favour of which and in order that suitable use may be made of it the undersigned has received the Imperial orders to sign the present declaration.

"Given in PARIS on SEPT. 1st, 1815.

"(Signed) METTERNICH."

Provided with this declaration and with passports, Macirone proceeded to Toulon, where he heard that King Murat had left for Corsica. Thereupon Captain Macirone, being anxious to carry out his mission successfully, embarked for Bastia. In this port he had an interview with the English Captain, Bastard, who was in command of the "*Meander*", a frigate of the British navy. This officer having informed him of King Joachim's preparations, and of the expedition which he was preparing, did not conceal from Macirone that there was great excitement at Naples, but that necessary arrangements were being made to repel this audacious attack. The commander of the English vessel declared at the same time that he had received orders to oppose Murat's adventurous enterprise by force, and that he should make his arrangements so as to capture the king's flotilla after he had left port, and was at some distance from the coast. Before leaving Bastia himself Macirone received a visit from two Corsicans there* who had come from Leghorn on the "*Meander*". One of them was a captain in the Royal Corsican Regiment in British service. The other was a civil servant in the new government of the new King of Naples. These emissaries carried orders from the Neapolitan minister, who enjoined upon them to resist King Joachim's expedition by every means in their power. Like Captain Bastard they thought

*The Brothers Carabelli.

that having seen M. Macirone, Murat would accept the refuge offered him by the Emperor of Austria. Macirone arrived in Ajaccio on Sept. 28th, bringing two servants who had been in his service, with money, linen, and clothes. In spite of the affectionate cordiality with which the king received Macirone he refused to listen to his advice. The captain in vain urged him in the most pressing way to make up his mind to accept the offers of hospitality of the Austrian Government. He had given orders that Joachim should be received at Trieste whither he would be transported by an English vessel. The King answered that it was too late, that the die was cast; that he had already waited for the decision of the allied powers for a space of three months, during which time his life had been constantly menaced; that finally, persecuted as he was by the sovereigns of Europe, he had made up his mind to risk all and to endeavour to recover the throne which he had lost. King Murat further added that in spite of all the confidence in his success, with which he was animated, he cared very little for the result of his expedition. If he failed in his enterprise he would at least have the comfort of losing his life, after having so often confronted death on so many fields of battle. He also said that the failure of his campaign against Austria could not deprive him of his right as a king which had been acknowledged by the whole of Europe, and that he had signed no abdication. The final reason which urged him to persevere in his determination to vindicate his rights to the crown was that in acting otherwise he would have gratuitously compromised three hundred brave officers and soldiers, who had wished to follow him, and whom it was impossible to abandon to the revenge of the French Royal Government.

Captain Macirone despairing of turning King Joachim away from his foolhardy enterprise begged him at least for a written answer to the proposal which he had been commissioned to lay before him. The King, who did not wish to make his plans public yet, informed Captain Macirone in a letter that he "accepted the passport which had been sent him, that he intended to make use of it to proceed to the destination which was mentioned upon it." But subsequently, on the night which preceded his departure, King Murat addressed another letter to Macirone in which he admitted that his first communication had been dictated to him by the necessity imposed upon him of hiding his true designs, and that he *owed it to truth, to his own dignity, and to the noble frankness and good faith of the captain, to acquaint him at last with his real intentions.* This very long letter, in which King Joachim bitterly complained of the way in which the allied forces had treated him, terminated with the declaration that he was leaving to go and reconquer his kingdom, and that he would already be some distance on his way at the time when Captain Macirone should receive his letter.*

Macirone thought it his duty to inform the commander of the English vessel of King Joachim's departure, but took care not to do so until the King's little fleet had got forty-eight hours start. Murat's intention was to land at Salerno, which is a port situated about thirty miles from Naples, where a considerable number of the old Neapolitan troops were being reorganized; but, a storm having separated him from his flotilla, he made up his mind, instead of returning to Salerno, to rally the rest of his

*This letter will be found at the end of the volume.

forces, and to land immediately in the neighbourhood of Pizzo. The felucca, on board which King Joachim found himself, carried about thirty old officers of his, amongst whom was General Franceschetti. This little troop, at the head of which Murat placed himself in a general's uniform, was pacifically received by some coastguards who happened to be on the beach, and who recognized King Joachim. They marched without loss of time to the town of Pizzo and entered the market-place. Murat addressed the inhabitants who surrounded him, and some saluted him as their King, offering him horses which served to mount his troops, but the majority displayed timidity and hesitation. Joachim continued his march on Monteleone without respite. The agent of the Duke de l'Infantado, who enjoyed great influence with the inhabitants on account of this duke's immense possessions at Pizzo and elsewhere, addressed them after Murat's departure and threatened them with the vengeance of Ferdinand's government if they did not oppose the usurper's march. He even succeeded in making a troop take arms, and placed himself at their head. On his march on Monteleone King Joachim fell in with a colonel of gendarmerie named Trentacapelli, who was on his way from Monteleone to Pizzo. Murat invited him to join them, but this officer who had little confidence in resources so feeble for so great an enterprise respectfully declined the offer. The colonel said, pointing to Monteleone, that he could only recognize as King the man whose flag should float on those towers. Trentacapelli, whom the King had very imprudently allowed to continue his way to Pizzo, met the Duke de l'Infantado's agent there urging the people to take up

arms for King Ferdinand. The colonel added his efforts and the influence of his authority to the agent's exhortation; then placing himself at the head of a large troop he marched rapidly in pursuit of King Joachim and came up with him very soon about half way to Monteleone. King Joachim and his friends seeing Trentacapelli's troops coming along at great speed in the distance imagined that they were coming to join them. Actuated by this idea the King interrupted his march, thinking that it would be a good thing to await reinforcements before entering Monteleone. On the approach of this imaginary reinforcement Murat walked a few paces towards this troop, when some of his followers shouted out: "Long live King Joachim." To their great surprise this was answered with a discharge of musketry. A fierce encounter ensued and the party of King Murat, who defended himself with the courage of despair, lost some men killed, and many wounded. Having to deal with an enemy numerically much superior, and unable to advance on Monteleone with his enemies behind him, the King made up his mind to return to his ship, and followed by General Francheschetti and a dozen others he cut his way through the thick of his enemies wounding several with his own hand and discharging his pistol point-blank at Colonel Trentacapelli, whom he missed. The vigour of his attack disconcerted the enemy and filled their ranks with confusion, of which the King took advantage to run to the place in the bay where he had left his ship. He had received no injuries although all his comrades had been wounded.

In the meanwhile the commander of the expeditionary fleet, Barbara, Piedmontese officer, now in the

King's service, having heard firing and considering his personal safety only, or perhaps bought over by Ferdinand's agent, had left the coast, abandoning King Joachim to his fate. In this desperate situation the King jumped into the water to reach a fishing boat which was within reach, followed by Franceschetti and the remainder of his followers. Fate would have it that this boat had unfortunately settled in the sand, and the united efforts of the fugitives to run it out into the sea were in vain. They then ran up to a smaller boat which was within twenty paces, and meanwhile the coast was covered with the King's enemies who watched them with astonishment, without firing or without approaching them. To make matters worse, this little boat in which the King could have escaped with his followers was chained to the shore, and all efforts to break the chain were fruitless. The fisherman to whom the boat belonged, and who was perhaps afraid of losing his boat, pulled at the chain, whilst another fisherman who had run up seized on the King, who with one blow of his head butted him into the sea. The example given by these two fishermen was followed by other assailants, and the boat was soon completely surrounded. No violence was committed upon the King, who stood up in the midst of his assailants, adjuring them to let him go, and as a last hope showing them his passport for Trieste. Finding them deaf to his appeals Joachim was obliged to give himself up into the hands of his enemies. News of this important capture having been telegraphed to the Neapolitan Ministry an order was sent back by telegraph that a court-martial should be called together to try, and to sentence, King Joachim.

It is known how very expeditious was this trial. Murat listened to his sentence with a smile of contempt. He had written the following letter to his wife, enclosing a lock of his hair:—

"MY DEAR CAROLINE,

"My last hour has come. In a few moments I shall have ceased to live, in a few moments you will have no husband. Never forget me, do not curse my memory. I die innocent. Farewell my Achilles, farewell my Lætitia, farewell my Lucien, farewell my Louise—show yourselves worthy of me to the world. I leave you without a kingdom, without wealth, in the midst of my enemies. Remain constantly united, show yourselves superior to misfortune. Think of what you are and what you have been. God will bless you. Know that my greatest grief in the last moments of my life is to die far from my children. Receive my paternal blessings; receive my kisses and my tears, and ever hold in your memory your unhappy father.

"PIZZO, OCT. 13th, 1815. "(Signed) JOACHIM."

King Murat declared that he died in the Roman Catholic religion and begged the assistance of a priest, who comforted his last moments. He placed a portrait of his wife and his children on his bosom, and then refusing to sit down on the bench which was offered him or to allow his eyes to be bandaged, he himself gave the word of command to fire, and not a single muscle of his face betrayed that he felt the slightest emotion. Thus perished by an obscure death a man to whom fortune, having taken him from a very lowly position, had reserved the loftiest destiny. An intrepid soldier, frank, loyal, generous, throughout his whole career and on the throne which he had admirably

occupied he had carried all these brilliant qualities to excess. Animated by too much confidence he made peace with his enemies when he should have continued to make war, and recommenced war when he should have maintained an expectant attitude, which is what brought about his ruin.

CHAPTER VIII.

I Think of Returning to France—I am Requested by the Emperor of Austria to Postpone my Departure—The Interference of the Police Becomes Intolerable—Arrival in Vienna of Letters Brought by MM. de Flahaut and Stassart—Creation of New Kingdoms—Remarks Made as the Empress was Going By—Prayers and Processions for the Success of the New War—Marie Louise Refuses to be Present at These Prayers with the Court—Her Conduct is Approved of by the Emperor of Austria—Letter Addressed to the Empress by Queen Julia—My Last Conversation with the Empress on This Occasion—The Distress of the King of Saxony and His Brother—The King of Saxony Resigns Himself to the Loss of Half his States—Assiduities of the Emperor Alexander to Prince Schwarzenberg—Anecdote—Death of Countess Neipperg—The Guard of Honour at Parma Cries "Long Live the Emperor"—Extraordinary Display of Forces by the Coalition—Marie Louise Busies Herself with Great Interest over Her Arrangements in Parma—Remarks Made by the Archduke John—The Grand-Duke of Baden—Feastday of May 1st Celebrated in Vienna by the Sovereigns—Act of Devotion on Marie Louise's Part—I at Last Obtain My Passport on Condition of Being Accompanied by an Austrian Officer—I Go to Take Leave of the Young Prince—The Emperor of Austria Grants Him a Name and a Title—What Count Dietrichstein, His Tutor, Says of the Duke of Reichstadt—I Take Leave of the Empress—My Departure from Schönbrunn—Prince de Wagram Passes Through Waldsee on His Way to Baden—He is Forced to Return to Bamberg—I am Visited at Belfort, by General Lecourbe, Chief of the Staff—M. de Marmier Raises a Free Company at His Own Expense—My Arrival in Paris—First Audience with the Emperor—Prolonged Daily Conversations—The Emperor's Melancholy and Resignation—His Kindness Towards Me—Papers Stolen from the Imperial Archives by M. de Talleyrand—Visit to the Duke of Otranto—His Remarks About the Emperor—His Understanding with Prince Metternich—The Additional Act—Madame de Staël's Approval of this Act—The Emperor Leaves for the Army—Order of the Day to the Army—The Desertion of General Bourmont and Others—Ligny and Waterloo—The Emperor Returns to Paris—He is Abandoned by the Chambers—His Abdication—Fatal Error of the Chambers—Plenipotentiaries Sent to the Allies—Fouché's Culpable Intrigues—Plan of the Prussians to Proclaim a Prussian Prince King of France—Letter from Joseph Bonaparte on the Conduct of the Chambers in 1815—Lanjuinais and Siéyès—Comparison Between La Fayette and Carnot—Letter from Joseph Bonaparte About M. de La Fayette—The Emperor at the Elysée and at La Malmaison—Provisional Government Commission—Fouché's Duplicity—Equivocal Recognition of Napoleon II.—About M. de Caulaincourt—His Marriage with Madame de Canisy—Picture of La Malmaison—My Last Conversation with the Emperor—I Leave La Malmaison Too Soon—My Grief on Finding on the Morrow that the Emperor had Left for Rochefort—Napoleon's Offer to Place Himself Temporarily at the Head of the Army—Refusal of This Offer by the Provisional Government—Reflections on the Fall of the Great Empire—Talleyrand and Fouché—The Emperor's Departure from La Malmaison—His Arrival at Rochefort—Refusal of Offers to Convey him to America—He Proceeds to the English Station—His Letter to the Prince Regent of

England—He Leaves on Board the *Northumberland* for St. Helena Where he Dies After a Long Agony—End of the Vienna Congress—Signature of the Acts by the Various Plenipotentiaries—Reversion of the States of Parma to the Son of the Former Queen of Etruria—Marie Louise's Tardy Departure for Her New States—End of the Task which I Have Assumed—Napoleon's Long Agony—His Strength of Character—Dream on the Occasion of His Death—Sad Reflections on the Destiny of This Great Man—England's Rôle, and Appreciations on the Future Which Awaits Her.

VARIOUS letters which I had received recalled me to France. I myself felt that the lack of information which was experienced there rendered my early departure necessary, and I accordingly made up my mind to ask for the necessary authorization for going there. On April 9th I begged the Empress to ask the Emperor of Austria to grant me a passport, which could only be delivered with the special permission of this prince. After some very affectionate attempts to dissuade me from going, Marie Louise was good enough to promise to speak to her father on the subject. I awaited the result of this promise for some days, at the end of which the Empress told me that she had had great difficulty in getting the Emperor of Austria to allow me to go; and that before ordering a passport to be given to me he wanted me to see Prince Metternich, and that I should be sent for at any moment by this minister. I resigned myself without reluctance to this delay. Half-confidences, the variations in the language of the influential people with whom I was brought into contact, comparisons which I was enabled to draw, thanks to the rôle of observer to which I was reduced, the indefinite adjournment of the Emperor of Austria's departure for Prague, a whole concatenation of circumstances and indications had given birth to certain hopes in my heart, which were unfortunately never to be realized.

I had no doubt that some event or other was being waited for, it may be one of those lightning-strokes to which the Emperor Napoleon was so accustomed, which might encourage the tendencies of the Austrian Cabinet and induce it to charge me with some message for him. M. de Talleyrand had told somebody that he worked a great deal with the Prime Minister, and that he had noticed that he often varied. In telling the reader of these deductions of mine I only give them as conjectures on my part, seeing that I was never called to the audience to which I expected to be summoned.

Life at Schönbrunn and in Vienna had become intolerable for French people: the police behaved brutally towards them. Count Anatole de Montesquiou was coming one day from Vienna to Schönbrunn when he was detained at the Mariahilf barrier by an agent who informed him that he was not allowed to cross the lines. M. de Montesquiou went to the police-office and not finding any explanation of this order went home to his mother to wait for it there. A quarter of an hour later a messenger came from M. de Hager, director of police, with apologies for the misunderstanding which had interrupted his excursion and the assurance that such a thing would never occur again. In spite of this assurance we were frequently exposed to similar unpleasantness.

Since General Neipperg's departure for Italy, Baron de Wessemberg, the Austrian Minister, one of the negotiators at the Congress, acted as intermediary between the Empress and Prince Metternich whom she used to see at her son's apartment every time that she went to Vienna. He was often charged with letters

from General Neipperg. Archduke Charles appeared also to enjoy the Empress's confidence.

On April 13th, a religious service was celebrated in Vienna in commemoration of the anniversary of the death of Maria Theresa, Marie Louise's mother, and she was present with her family. On her return to Schönbrunn she did me the honour of telling me that a letter which had been brought by M. de Flahaut had arrived in Vienna, and that she had been told its contents verbally. They persisted in not handing her the Emperor's letters, so as to cut short all communications between her and her husband. M. de Flahaut had been arrested at Stuttgart just as M. de Stassart had been arrested at Lintz, and had been forced to turn back after having handed over to the Austrian authorities the despatches with which he had been charged.

On the same day the Vienna Gazette published the Emperor of Austria's edict, relating to the institution of the "Lombardo-Venetian kingdom", under date of April 7th. Ambitious motives prompted the sovereigns of the great powers to erect into monarchies the spoils of the colossal power from which they were inheriting. Thus the Emperor of Russia took the title of King of Poland, the King of England that of King of Hanover; Holland, with Belgium added, also definitely became a kingdom.

The Empress returned one day to Schönbrunn, much upset by a remark which had reached her ears as she was coming out of the imperial palace in Vienna. Two men, who spoke in French, had said loud enough for her to hear: "This lady does very wrongly to act as a spy here on her father; she would do very much

better to return to France and to live with her husband there." This reproach wounded her deeply, but as moderation was the basis of her character she refused to have the people who had made this remark looked for, contrary to what she had been advised to do. Count Aldini had just brought a letter from the Princess Elisa, Napoleon's sister, to Schönbrunn, in which she begged Marie Louise to use her influence with the Emperor of Austria to enable her to return to France. In spite of the good-will of the Empress who went specially to Vienna to ask for this permission for her sister-in-law her application remained without any result and no answer was vouchsafed by the Austrian Cabinet.

On April 16th there began in the Austrian capital a series of prayers and processions for the success of the war against France and against Napoleon. These processions composed of schools of young girls and boys, together with people of the working-classes, lasted a fortnight. Preceded by banners and flags of every colour they marched through the streets and suburbs of Vienna, and went to pray in the cathedral of Saint Stephen and the principal churches. The court did not fail to be present at these prayers. The Empress of Austria formally asked her stepdaughter to be present with the rest of her family, but was unable to induce her to do so. So pressing were her requests that the case was submitted to the Emperor of Austria and to two of his brothers, and their opinion was opposed to such an action. The sentiments manifested by the Empress were in harmony with her position; but I am sorry to say that she appeared only to make this concession so as to be able to persist in her determi-

nation not to return to France. I had just received a letter from the Emperor, another from King Joseph, and another from the Queen, his wife, addressed to the Empress, by special messenger, and I handed them to her telling her that I was discharging a duty which had been laid upon me. She reminded me that she could only take them to hand them over to her father, and that if I thought right to keep them she would act as if she had heard nothing about them. As these letters were intended for her and it was better that they should be read, I begged her to take them and to do what she thought right with them. Some words were afterwards exchanged between us on the very painful subject of her refusal to join the Emperor. She answered with some vivacity, but, however, with her usual gentleness, that her resolution on this head was irrevocable. When I objected that there was no such thing as an irrevocable engagement, and that circumstances might arise which would render her return to France obligatory, she made haste to answer that even her father's rights did not extend as far as that. I could not help remarking, in my turn, that the sentiments which she was manifesting were unjust and quite out of harmony with her character; that if the French nation were to hear of her repugnance, it would be much hurt, for nothing could be more painful to the French than to see their affection despised; and that then they would reject her, after having ardently desired her as a pledge of peace. This conversation was the last I ever had with her on the subject. She seemed to have made up her mind with so much obstinacy that it appeared to me quite useless to refer to the subject again.

Time and events, moreover, were our only masters.

Prince Anthony of Saxony, the King's brother, was living in retirement and in bad health at Schönbrunn. The Empress Marie Louise frequently went to see him. This family was under a ban, on account of the affection which its head had shown for Napoleon. Poor Prince Anthony, although he was the Emperor of Austria's brother-in-law—had an army of bailiffs in his palace in Dresden, and was forced to pay for their keep. The King, who was even worse treated, was entirely without resources and lived on the proceeds of the sale of some diamonds which did not always suffice for paying all his household expenses, limited as his household was to a very small number of faithful servants, whose keep cost him about sixteen thousand francs a month. The Prussians seemed to have formed the plan of reducing this Prince by means of starvation, and they were pitilessly pursuing the invasion of one half of his States. The King had for a long time refused to agree to this dismemberment of his territory, but he was at last obliged to resign himself to the painful sacrifices which were imposed upon him by brutal force. This expression will not appear too strong when it is compared with the odious principles enunciated in a letter from Lord Castlereagh to Prince Hardenberg, which was produced at the debates in the English Parliament. This letter strikes the keynote of the abuse of prepotency which marked the majority of the acts of the Congress.* "The King of Saxony was not only despoiled of the

* This letter, dated October 11th, 1814, written by Lord Castlereagh to Prince Hardenberg with reference to Saxony, was published, and is to be found in the newspapers of the time.

Duchy of Warsaw, but of one half of his hereditary States, with which Prussia, in her moderation, was good enough to content herself. He had left Presburg to come and reside in the château of Laxemburg, where he was near the tribunal which was to pronounce without appeal on the fate of Saxony. He wanted to return to Dresden. In spite of his resignation permission to live in his capital during the war was for a long time refused him, nor was it hidden from him that there were good reasons why he should be treated with distrust. He was forced to send two of his nephews, sons of Prince Maximilian, to serve in the Austrian army, as hostages who would be a guarantee of his fidelity. He came incognito to see his brother at Schönbrunn, and these two Pariahs of royal blood wept in unison over the disasters of their house.

The cessation of festivities and the absence of Prince Eugene appeared to have disturbed the Emperor Alexander's habits. He used to go and kill some of his time every day at the house of Prince Schwarzenberg. I was constantly hearing of the complaints made by the Fieldmarshal at the way in which he was bothered. When he had arranged to spend a day with his family and had selected one of his châteaux, so as to be more at his ease, he would see Alexander come and insist on forming one of the party. Prince Schwarzenberg, who was a man of independent character, did not always dissemble his irritation at these constant assiduities on the part of the Czar. His departure for the army at last delivered him from them. He had announced that he would come and take leave of the Empress, but no doubt a feeling of decency prevented him from keeping this promise.

A piece of news which at that time passed unnoticed, except at Schönbrunn where it created great excitement, was the death of Countess Neipperg. This lady who had remained in Wurtemberg, which was General Neipperg's birthplace—whilst he came to employ his talents in Vienna—died in the month of April, after an illness of two days, leaving four boys behind her. She was said to have been very pretty but only moderately intelligent. Count Neipperg had run away with her from her first husband, who was still living a few months before his wife's death. The way in which Marie Louise announced this death, one day at table, showed that she did not regret it very much.

The Empress of Austria had taken care to keep her stepdaughter informed of what was going on in Italy. The last news which she sent her was altogether unfavourable to the Neapolitans, and this was confirmed by letters from General Neipperg. This general informed the Duchess of Parma that the regiment of her bodyguards, having refused to march against the Neapolitans and having shouted "Long Live the Emperor", had been disbanded. The Empress Marie Louise blazed up on reading this. She did not speak of punishing the authors of what she at least had no right to consider a rebellion, because by her character she had a dislike for severity, but she reserved to herself to reward those who had remained faithful. The Emperor of Austria anticipated her, informing her that he was going to reorganize her regiment and reduce it to three thousand men instead of the five or six thousand who had formerly composed it. This was a favour which looked very much like an increase of charges.

It was to be noticed that since the news of the military events which forejudged the issue of the Neapolitan question and ensured the pacification of Italy, the animosity of the high personages at the Congress had increased in intensity, and that the violence of the German newspapers had increased. The Congress busied itself with nothing but deliberations against the common enemy. The offensive treaties were renewed, and the sovereigns were pledged by transactions about which no time was given them to reflect. Austria, Russia, and Prussia signed new conventions for subsidies with England. The whole of Europe was set on foot as one man. Three great Russian armies were set to march through Hungary and Silesia.

Austria was assembling an army in Piedmont, and another on the Rhine. Prussia was making extraordinary efforts. She was organizing two armies in the Netherlands and on the Rhine. All the princes of Germany were sending their contingents in soldiers of the line and *landwehr;* England was landing troops in Holland; Spain was assembling troops; more than a million soldiers were marching against Napoleon. At last, on May 12th, all the powers confirmed their declaration of March 13th, and declared war upon France if she recognized Napoleon as her sovereign. The Emperor Alexander had been the most animated. This prince who had been Napoleon's guest, whom he had loaded with apparent expressions of friendship, declared with the greatest vehemence and under an oath, that he would let his last soldier be killed and would spend his last rouble, to prevent Napoleon from ascending the throne of France once more and remaining there.

The decisive successes of the Austrians in Italy against King Joachim had dissipated the doubts which the Empress had had till then as to the fate of her States of Parma. No obstacle seemed, in her eyes, to stand in the way of her taking speedy possession of these territories. From that time on, all thought of returning to France was effaced from her mind and all her thoughts turned towards Parma. She occupied herself with unusual attention, in studying the principal branches of the administration of the country, but above all the resources which it offered for private life.

She informed herself with all details on the most comfortable way of establishing herself there, of the internal arrangements of the Palace of Parma, of the new disposal of rooms which would have to be carried out, of the summer country-houses, and finally of the various improvements which could be carried out in the various residences. She gave orders for the organization of the ducal household, and for the nominations to all the functions at court. These occupations, which I am far from speaking of in a spirit of blame, took up all her time during several days. She attached to her establishment in Parma, the interest which is felt by a new landowner, who never having had the free disposal of the estates which he has inhabited, finds himself at last master of a domain where he is able to exercise an undivided authority. She planned out excursions to Florence, Genoa, Rome, Naples, where King Joachim would no longer be reigning; to England, etc., and annual visits to Vienna to see her son. This was the unvarying subject of her conversations.

The Official Journal had published an edict on April

14th, ignored till then, by which the Duchess of Parma, begged her father to administer the duchies provisionally in her name, until circumstances would allow her to proceed there in person. This edict, dated March 3rd, bore the Emperor of Austria's acceptance.

Before leaving for the army, theArchduke John, Viceroy of Italy, came to take leave of Marie Louise. This visit having given her the opportunity of speaking of a remark which had been made by this prince on hearing the first news of the Emperor's departure from the island of Elba: "My poor Louise, I am sorry for you; what I hope for you and for us all is that he may break his neck." I could not help remarking to the Empress, that without any doubt she disapproved of such words. She admitted that these words were to be blamed, but she found that the feeling which had dictated them was excusable on the part of princes for whom the Emperor's return to France was a great calamity. On the same day she was called on by the Grand-duke of Baden who was to leave on the morrow; but who, according to his statement, was detained in Vienna to give certain explanations on a note which he had addressed to the Congress—a note the object of which was certain claims relating to the supremacy of the Federative Diet established by the same Congress, according to which all German affairs were to be decided by Austria's influence, and under the presidence of an Austrian Minister.

It seems to me that it will not be entirely without interest to relate here the last act of the Empress Marie Louise, which I witnessed before my departure from Vienna, although it only interested this princess's conscience. If I allude to it at all, it is because it is

an indication of her religious feelings. She discharged her devotional duties, in the chapel of Schönbrunn, at seven o'clock in the morning in her father's presence. On that day Count San Vitale, who had been appointed her grand-chamberlain, fulfilled the functions of his post for the first time.

More than three weeks had passed by since I had been ordered to await an audience with Prince Metternich before returning to France. Counting no longer on this audience with the Prime Minister, I regretted to see my departure delayed in pure waste of time. If it entered into the secret views of the Austrian Cabinet to resign itself to a reconciliation with the Emperor Napoleon, it seemed evident to me that events still uncertain, and perhaps remote, would alone be able to force it to such a step. There was accordingly no further reason for my presence in Vienna, nor were there any motives for prolonging it. I renewed my request for a passport, but the Emperor Francis was at that time suffering from an indisposition which prevented him from attending to business of any sort. Later on another objection was made against the realization of my plan, connected with the visa, which was described as indispensable. This visa had to be given to my passport by Prince Schwarzenberg. An order having forbidden all communication with the left bank of the Rhine, the signature of the commander-in-chief of the Austrian army had become necessary for crossing the river. Now M. de Schwarzenberg had already left for his general head-quarters, and this absence complicated the difficulties. After much opposition I was given to hope that I should be able to leave if I took a place in the carriage of an Austrian officer, a proposal

to which I eagerly agreed. At last I received a passport from the State chancery, but another week was lost in the formalities of the visa and complications of every kind. It was only after a quantity of applications and negotiations with Generals Stipsicz and Langenau that I definitely obtained permission to start, on accepting the escort of an Austrian officer. I could have no politer nor more attentive travelling companion than Captain Karaczaï, a young Hungarian officer who had already accompanied the Empress Marie Louise, when she was leaving France after the events of 1814, and later on also during this princess's journey to Aix in Savoy.

Before leaving, I went to take leave of the young prince at the imperial palace of Vienna. It grieved me to notice his serious and even melancholy air. He had lost that childish cheerfulness and loquacity which had so much charm in him. He did not come to meet me as he was accustomed to do, and saw me enter without giving any sign that he knew me. One might have said that misfortune was already beginning its work on this young head, which a great lesson of Providence seemed to have adorned with a crown on his entrance into life, so as to give a fresh example of the vanity of human greatness. He was like one of those victims destined for sacrifice who are adorned with flowers. Although he had already spent six weeks with the persons to whom he had been confided, with whom I found him, he had not yet got accustomed to them and seemed to look upon their faces, still strange to him, with distrust. I asked him in their presence if he had a message which I could take for him to his father. He looked at me in a sad and

significant way, then gently freeing his hand from my grasp he withdrew silently into the embrasure of a window some distance off. After having exchanged some words with the persons who were in the drawing-room, I approached the spot to which he had withdrawn and where he was standing looking on with an attentive air. As I bent down to him to say farewell, struck with my emotion, he drew me towards the window and looking at me with a touching expression he whispered to me: "M. Méva, you will tell him that I am still very fond of him!" The poor orphan already felt that he was no longer free and that he was no longer with his father's friends. He had had great difficulty in forgetting his "Mamma Quiou," as he used to call her. He kept asking for her of Madame Marchand who had been left with him and who was very fond of him. This excellent woman, who had received him in her arms at his birth and who had identified herself with him, returned to France a year later. Her departure was a fresh source of sorrow for the young prince. When they ceased calling him by the name of Napoleon, he was greatly displeased, for he found the name of Francis, which had been forced on him, both trivial and ugly. I admit that such impressions are the impressions of children of his age whose habits have been brusquely broken in upon, that they are only temporary and soon give way before the happy mobility of their character. One might have said that the gravity of the circumstances in which the young prince found himself placed had been revealed to his intelligence and had hastened on his maturity.

I left him in a state of flourishing good health. His

constitution was robust and promised a long life, free from infirmities. He was handsome, good, and full of amiable qualities which later on won for him his grandfather's affection.

When he was deprived of the succession to the States of Parma and his name had been taken away from him, it became necessary to provide for his present and future position. By an edict issued in July 1818, he received the title of Duke of Reichstadt, which was the name of one of the estates in Bohemia which were to form his appanage. The same edict settled his armorial bearings and gave him precedence immediately after the princes of the Austrian imperial family: another deed had six months previously conferred upon him the property of the Bavaro-Palatinate fiefs in Bohemia with reversion to the crown of Austria in default of male issue. He was only to enjoy the revenues of these estates on reaching his majority or on his mother's death; this princess being obliged to provide for her son's maintenance as long as the duchies of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla remained in her possession. The poor child never came to the enjoyment of his estate, for death awaited him at his majority. Thus the Emperor of Austria, although he was very fond of his grandson, gave him nothing. Marie Louise provided largely for her son's expenses and the cost of his education. Count Dietrichstein was with the Emperor Francis's consent appointed his tutor. His masters were learned and distinguished men who gave to his precocious intelligence the development to which it was prone. Count Dietrichstein, who came to Nice for the sake of his health, during the winter of the years 1831—1832, frequently conversed

with General Bertrand's daughter about Napoleon's son. The gist of his remarks was that the young prince was tall and well-made, that he resembled both his father and his mother, that he had not the simplicity and the good-nature which are the basis of the character of the Austrian Archdukes, but that he had a great distinction and dignity in his manners, that a touch of melancholy and a habit of meditation had left their impress on his features, that he was well-informed and had a taste for serious studies and for the military state, that he had retained a recollection of France, although he had left it in his early childhood, and that he took pleasure in seeing French people, which revealed itself by the animated attention with which he looked at them and tried to recognize them. "It does not befit me," added Count Dietrichstein, "to boast of a young man whose education I directed, but I may say that my efforts were seconded by the very best natural dispositions and that the Duke of Reichstadt is a man." Six months later this young prince was no more.

It was on May 6th, at ten o'clock in the evening, that I took my last farewell of the Empress. She was much touched on this occasion. She was good enough to express her regret at my departure and said that she felt that in future all relations between her and France would cease, but that she would always remember this land of her adoption. She charged me to assure the Emperor of all the good she wished him, and told me that she hoped he would understand the unhappiness of her position. She repeated that she would never consent to a divorce, that she flattered herself with the belief that he would agree to a friendly

separation, that this separation had become inevitable, and that no change had occurred in the feelings of esteem and gratitude which she felt for him. She presented me with a snuff-box ornamented with her cipher in diamonds, as a souvenir, and left me to hide the emotion which was mastering her. I myself left her with a heavy heart and in a state of veritable affliction.

I left on the morrow at six in the morning, with my travelling companion. I met Baron de Vincent at Enns, on his way to resume his functions as ambassador at Ghent, with Louis XVIII. On the way from Vienna to Munich, I met with conveyances full of recruits, with the cavalry corps on march, together with artillery regiments and parks. The head-quarters of Prince de Hohenzollern, commanding the first corps, were at Stockach.

Prince Eugene was at Munich when I passed through. He was there in so equivocal a situation that I avoided seeing him for fear of exposing him to some unpleasantness. He had, besides, warned me, begging me in secret not to visit him on account of the supervision to which I was subjected.

The postmaster at Waldsee told me that Prince de Neufchâtel had passed the day before, in company of his princess and an officer, on his way to Bâle, but had returned a few hours later, having been forced to go back at Stockach and that he had made his way to Bamberg, from whence he had come.

I arrived at Bâle on May 11th, at six in the morning. I separated myself from my travelling companion there. I had nothing but praise for the way in which he had treated me during the journey. He had exer-

cised a mission of protection over me rather than of supervision. On the frontiers, at the forts, and in the various stations of the allied troops through which we had passed he had preserved me from the annoyance of visits to and appearances before the civil and military authorities. I found the people of Bâle much disturbed by the battery which had been constructed at Huningue, which menaced the bridge and town of Bâle. I saw M. Harel, extraordinary commissioner of police, at Bourglibre or St. Louis and found him very distrustful of their feelings towards us. From that city to Paris I met with an enthusiasm for the Emperor and an ardour for the war which I cannot describe, not only amongst the soldiers and the fresh recruits but also amongst the majority of the people. At Belfort I was called upon by the chief of the staff of General Lecourbe who had his head-quarters there. He came to us in Lecourbe's name, to ask with great anxiety, whether I brought the news of the speedy arrival of the Empress and her son and if there was reason to hope that the war would not take place. I met the loyal M. de Marmier, the Emperor's aide-de-camp, on my way. He had raised a free company at his own expense, and he asked me the same questions with the keenest interest.

I was expected with impatience by the Emperor. I went at noon to the Elysée where he had established himself. I was introduced into his room, immediately after my arrival, and I found Napoleon there seated on a settee with his head leaning on his hand, wrapped in profound meditation. He rose to receive me and took my hand, which he grasped with great cordiality; then, opening a glazed door, he pre-

ceded me into the garden where he kept me till six in the evening, overwhelming me with questions of every kind. He told me to return on the morrow at his levee. I arrived just as he had finished dressing and followed him again into the garden where his questions recommenced. These conversations lasted several days. The levee usually took place at nine o'clock, but it was often eleven o'clock before the Emperor thought of leaving me to attend it. When I fancied that I had exhausted all the subjects which seemed to me likely to interest him, or to satisfy his curiosity, he found means to extract fresh details from me by searching in the innermost recesses of my memory. I will not endeavour to transcribe these conversations in the form of a dialogue. They were an exchange of questions and answers of infinite variety and detail and turned on most of the things of which I have spoken higher up. Generally speaking the subjects of the Emperor's conversation on these occasions were serious, and seemed to affect him painfully. He rarely dropped a grave way of speaking. One day, however, after having listened to certain particulars on the Empress's domestic life, he asked me, in a jesting tone, whether one of her uncles had not paid her attentions. Napoleon spoke to me of his son with great tenderness and listened with marked emotion to the most insignificant particulars about this darling child. All that he said about the Empress was full of respect and consideration for her. He pitied her for the trials to which she had been exposed, anticipated whatever I had to say in her favour, and expressed no doubt that her feelings for France and for himself had been forced. He ordered me to write to her, so that the weak thread

which still connected Marie Louise with France might not be severed.

I informed the Emperor of the order given me by the Emperor of Austria to delay my departure until I had been summoned by Prince Metternich. I told him of the strong reasons which I had for thinking that the object of this audience, although I had not been told so, but which I could suspect from certain half-confidences, was a pacific one, if subsequent events should bring the Austrian Cabinet to make an overture to the French Government. I told the Emperor that having waited for this audience for a month, without its being brought about by any occurrence, and seeing precious time go by, I had feared lest it might be indefinitely postponed. The Cabinet of Vienna, if its dispositions grew more favourable, could easily find an intermediary and charge him to carry its offers to Paris. I had therefore thought that my place was at the Emperor's side, and that my return to France would be more profitable to his interests than a prolongation of my stay in Vienna, were it only to carry the news of this incident to his ears. Napoleon approved of my conduct. He considered that the delay which had occurred in the delivery of my passport had been occasioned by the confidential negotiations which had been established about that time in Bâle between Metternich and Fouché. It was one of Napoleon's secretaries who received these communications from Vienna instead of the emissary of Fouché, who wanted in this matter to act without the Emperor's knowledge.

Speaking of the princes who had been brought back by the Restoration, the most remarkable thing that the Emperor told me was "that in returning from the

Island of Elba, it was not Louis XVIII.—for this prince could not have kept himself on the throne of France for another six months—whom he had dethroned, but the Duke of Orleans, that he was sorry for this, because this prince was the only Frenchman in his family, the most capable, and so on, and so on." Napoleon was touched by the patriotic sentiments which had been displayed by the Duke of Orleans, two months earlier, when he had gone to take command of the army in the North, placed under the orders of Marshal Mortier, with the letter which he had written to this Marshal on returning into retirement, but above all with the words which had been reported to him by Captain Athalin, one of his aides-de-camp, whom the Duke of Orleans had authorized to resume his post as orderly officer to the Emperor. This prince had told him that a new invasion of France by foreign troops must be prevented above all, esteeming him happy to find once more the colours which he himself had only left with regret. The Emperor judged the policy of the sovereigns with a great abnegation of his own interest. He considered it violent, but such as he was bound to expect; that it might have been more generous, for he had given them the example; that the princes given over to the inspirations of their ministers were naturally led to make a bad use of prosperity. He told me that all that was happening could not in consequence surprise him; and that it was in the nature of things, that in making his attempt, he had understood that he could appeal only to the courage and patriotism of the nation, and to his sword. "And for the rest," he added with a melancholy smile, "God is great and merciful." All his words were stamped with

a calm sadness and a resignation which produced a great impression upon me. I no longer found him animated with that certainty of success which had formerly rendered him confident and invincible. It seemed as if his faith in his fortune, which had induced him to attempt the very hardy enterprise of his return from the island of Elba, and which had supported him during his miraculous march through France, had abandoned him on his entry into Paris. He felt that he was no longer seconded with the ardent and devoted zeal to which he was accustomed, and that, hampered as he was with the shackles which he had allowed to be placed upon him, he was no longer as free as formerly.

The Emperor, after his first curiosity had been satisfied, prompted by his natural kindness, could not fail to attend to my personal affairs. He was the first to speak to me of the kind of occupation which would suit me best, and encouraged me to express my wishes on this head to him. One of Napoleon's ministers, remembering the example of M. Augeard, secretary of commands to Marie Antoinette, who had been at the same time treasurer of the city of Paris, thought that this latter function—the holder of which had provoked the animadversion of the government by his exaggerated royalist fervour—should become the appanage of the secretary to the commands of the Empress. This lucrative post was occupied at that time by the son-in-law of Count de Ségur, Grand Master of Ceremonies, and as this circumstance prevented me from desiring it, I did not entertain the proposal. In the course of one of his audiences, the Emperor told me that this arrangement had been mentioned to him but that he

did not think that a financial post would suit me and that he intended to entrust me with the Postmaster-General's place as soon as he found some other employment for M. de Lavalette. He added that the general guardianship of the State archives would be the post in the administration in which my services would be most useful to him, that I could occupy it temporarily and that he would add the title of Councillor of State to this post. On his departure for the army he charged King Joseph to have a report and the draft of a decree with this purpose in view prepared. The events of the campaign of 1815 and the catastrophe which terminated them prevented any realization of Napoleon's kindly intentions concerning me.

I learned in Paris that M. de Talleyrand, on April 2nd, 1814, in the midst of the cares which were caused to him by the enterprise of which he was the pivot and which ended in the Emperor's overthrow, and in spite of the multifarious obligations imposed upon him by the necessity of ensuring the success of all his intrigues had thought of removing from the State archives all papers which were of a nature to compromise him. On the day after the Emperor Alexander's arrival at the mansion in the rue Saint Florentin, M. de Talleyrand had charged two persons on whom he relied to go and explore the archives at the Louvre, and on some pretext or other to examine the cases or boxes containing letters, notes, or reports emanating from himself or addressed to him, concerning the trial of the Duc d'Enghien and affairs in Spain, as well as documents which might cast a light on the abuses of confidence, or money questions in which he might find himself implicated. As soon as the report concerning

these investigations had been handed to him, M. de Talleyrand, who had become head of the provisional government, made use of his power to appoint a M. Devillers as chief to the imperial archivist. This temporary conservator naturally withdrew from the archives all the papers which were mentioned to him by the exalted person whose creature he was. When the former Minister of Exterior Relations under the Empire saw himself in possession of these documents he burned them so as to destroy the proofs which sooner or later might have been used against him. As soon as M. Devillers had accomplished his mission his provisional functions ceased.

The desire to know whether the return of the Empress and her son could be hoped for was general. So great was the anxiety on this point that all the persons with whom I came into contact overwhelmed me with questions. Fouché in his capacity as a policeman was the most inquisitorial. He wanted to know what had happened in Vienna during the last year. He urged me to come and see him. I had no inclination to do so, because this minister had always inspired me with an invincible dislike. I told the Emperor of the way in which he had pressed me to come and he advised me to see him, but to listen to him rather than to tell him anything. I went to his house and, after his first questions, he said of the Emperor—speaking with his usual assurance: "Well, there he is. It was not he who was wanted, but he can't be removed as you remove a pawn from the chessboard. We will see what we can do to keep him." These are the exact words which he used. I reported them to the Emperor who knew no doubt what to expect from him, for he

contented himself with shrugging his shoulders in sign of his contempt. Fouché's hardy words agreed with what had been told me on my return to Paris of his mysterious understanding with Prince Metternich since the Emperor's return from the island of Elba. Communications had been exchanged through a secret agent with a view to concerting the Emperor's dethronement in favour of his son. I was surprised that Napoleon, after the discovery of treachery so flagrant, should have kept Fouché at the Ministry of Police. I learned in my conversations with the Emperor that he had been informed by the Duke de Vicence of this new intrigue on Fouché's part, and that he was acquainted with his previous intrigues as well as with the mission which he had given to M. de Montrond, behind his back, at the time when the latter was sent to Vienna with despatches from the Duke de Vicence. It was only later that I learned, and M. de Stassart himself confirmed this, that a communication of the same nature had been addressed to the Emperor by his intermediary, simultaneously with the despatch of M. Werner to Bâle.

A fortnight after my return to Paris I was present as a simple spectator at the ceremony of the Champ de Mai, during which the acceptance of the Additional Act to the Constitution of the Empire was proclaimed. On this occasion Napoleon presented the Paris national guard and the imperial guard with eagles. The deputations of the army received their eagles three days later, in the great gallery of the Louvre. The Additional Act was greatly criticized, and yet this act contained more liberal dispositions than the Charter which was granted by Louis XVIII. I for my part

regretted this isolated act which opened the door to all kinds of polemics and passionate discussions, at a time when it was the first need of France and of the Emperor to face the enemy. It would have been, we consider, better to have postponed to quieter times the elaboration of a new constitution, for the situation in which the French nation found itself in the spring of 1815 lent itself more than ever to a continuation of the dictatorship, and the danger which was menacing the country at this time made everybody feel its necessity. These reflections concerning the Additional Act give me the opportunity of mentioning in what terms Madame de Staël expressed her approval of it. These are the very words which Napoleon's persevering enemy wrote to King Joseph from Coppet: "The additional clauses are all that France needs, nothing but what she needs, and not more than she needs. Your brother's return is prodigious and surpasses anything that one could have imagined. I commend my son to you."

The Emperor on his return to France had found the army reduced to less than one hundred thousand men; in two months he had increased its force five times. A zealous and active administration had seconded Napoleon's efforts, and the nation by its sympathy and by means of spontaneous gifts, by levies of free troops had proved its ardour for the defence of the soil of the fatherland. The Emperor hesitated some time before deciding whether to remain on the defensive and to draw the enemy on either to Lyons or Paris, or whether on the contrary to take the offensive. He ended by deciding on the latter. After having armed and provisioned all the fortresses on our frontiers,

having settled on a system of fortifications for the defence of Paris and Lyons, and having established supplementary gun-factories and collected considerable quantities of ammunition of every kind, Napoleon left Paris on June 12th. At Avesnes he decided the first operations of the army by an order of the day which he wished to keep secret. On the 14th General Bourmont, commanding a division of the 4th corps, Clouet, colonel of engineers, and Major Villoutreys, staff-officer, and formerly equerry to the Emperor, followed by some officers, to the disgrace of French honour passed over to the enemy and betrayed the order of the day of June 13th to them.

In spite of this unqualifiable treachery, the campaign had opened under the happiest auspices for French arms. Napoleon had been able to hide his first movements from the eyes of the enemy and had succeeded in taking the Prussian and English armies by surprise. His skilful manœuvres which had separated these two armies and brought about the victory of Ligny gave one reason to hope that these successes would be followed by decisive victories. There was no doubt of this in Paris, and news from the army was being awaited with confident security, when the report of a great disaster came to trouble every mind. Soon the defeat of Waterloo was a mystery to nobody. This fatal news spread consternation in our capital, and this consternation was raised to its highest pitch by the desolating reports which kept coming in. In spite of the faults committed during this short campaign, and notably on this fatal day; in spite of the slowness and want of decision with which orders, for the execution of which the greatest speed was necessary, had been

carried out; in spite of the fact that Marshal Mortier's retreat had left the command-in-chief of the imperial guard vacant; the battle of Waterloo, which was won in the middle of the day, would have been a complete and decisive victory but for the arrival on the field ot battle of Bulow's Prussian corps and Blücher's army, in turn, and finally without the absence of Marshal Grouchy's corps. A caprice of fortune upset the best-laid plans, and snatched from Napoleon's hands the triumph which was within his grasp. Wellington had even said to General Hill, who came to take his orders, at the most critical moment of the battle: "I have no orders to give you. There is nothing left for us but to die here. Our retreat is even cut off behind us." Chance came to transform the vanquished into victors and success into defeat.

It can be said that Napoleon and his soldiers fell gloriously. On no encounter of such importance did the French army display more heroism and more resolution than at the battle of Waterloo. The young generals, the young colonels, the officers of the various corps were animated with the same ardour and the same enthusiasm. On the other hand certain of the principal leaders of the army, demoralized by the recollection ot the events of 1814, had lost that energy and confidence which often forces the hand of success. Treachery and desertion helped to transform our defeat finally into a rout. The French army, whose attitude and warlike qualities had been worthy of admiration up to the time of this catastrophe, retreated in fearful confusion.

The Emperor arrived at Charleroi and stopped there some hours. He sent out orders for rallying the army, and made arrangements for checking the enemy's

march. He then proceeded to Laon where he established Marshal Soult in general head-quarters, and designed this place as the point where the various corps were to meet. After having received more satisfactory news from his brother Jérôme whom he had charged to rally the remnants of the army and to reduce this confusion to order, Napoleon hesitated some time as to whether he should remain in the midst of his troops or return to Paris. He decided that his presence would not be necessary to the army until his columns had been rallied, and that it was more important to return to Paris, from which, besides, he was not more than thirty leagues distant. The Emperor accordingly returned to his capital, arriving there at eight o'clock in the morning of June 21st. As soon as I heard of his return I hastened to the Elysée. I found Napoleon there, overwhelmed with fatigue and care, and yet mastering the grief with which he was devoured. He was in a bath into which he had plunged himself on his arrival, to promptly restore his exhausted strength. He had left the army, in spite of pressing entreaties to the contrary, but he was not only a general, he was also Head of the Empire. Napoleon had come to ask the Chambers for their help, with which he did not want to dispense, to check the onward march of the enemy, who were once more advancing upon Paris. But mad divisions, the conflict between republican and royalist passions, the ambitions of certain influential persons, a spirit of vertigo, in one word, were troubling every head in Paris; and there was soon nothing left for Napoleon but to abdicate for a second time. During the two hours which preceded and followed the Emperor's second abdication, I saw him absorbed in cruel reflections and hesitations. His foresight of the

fate which was reserved to France if he abdicated, or if he remained in power, deprived of the assistance of the Chambers and reduced to a factious rôle, inspired him with a thousand conflicting resolutions and the most painful anxiety. An apparent want of feeling rendered him indifferent to the devotion of his brothers and to the remonstrances of certain faithful servants who urged him to adopt energetic resolutions. But the trial to which he had just submitted had opened Napoleon's eyes. He did not wish to add the horrors of a civil war to the evils resulting from a foreign invasion, by provoking a redoubtable conflict between the Chambers and himself. He felt that his mission had come to an end and that he could no longer recommence a career of prodigies; the times, the elements, the tendencies of men's minds were no longer the same. A close union of the great corporations of the State with himself could alone save France for a second time. This harmony of tendencies and will not existing in the circumstances in which the country found itself, Napoleon deemed that success was impossible. He might, no doubt, have appealed to the nation and to the army whose feelings were not to be doubted, but he feared to raise internal dissensions amongst the French.

The Emperor accordingly preferred to resign his crown, after having in vain endeavoured to draw the Chambers out of their state of blindness; and not without having pointed out to them in the most vivid colours all the misfortunes which his abdication would entail. He addressed himself, as the continuation of my story will show, to ears that would not hear, for rest, at no matter what price, had become the first need of one and all.

The intentions of a great part of the Chamber of Representatives may have been pure and patriotic, and yet the majority of its members only knew how to work with passion in breaking the sword and shield of France. It is painful to have to say that never was the nation represented by a political assembly more ignorant of its true interests, more below its mission, in presence of circumstances of such extraordinary gravity. Whilst numerous hostile armies were pressing in upon us on every side, this majority gave voice to none but vain tirades and untimely discussions on abstract constitutional theories. It was unable either to inspire the hearts of Frenchmen with a hatred for foreign domination and to proclaim the danger which was menacing the fatherland, or to rally itself to Napoleon's dictatorship; the only means which remained to triumph, perhaps, over a formidable league. After having provoked and obtained the abdication of the Emperor, whom it feared more than the enemy, it at last understood the imminence of the danger and felt the necessity of seconding the ardour which animated the national guard, the federates as well as the army. This assembly, invariably inconsistent, not knowing what use to make of the power which it had snatched from Napoleon's hands with violence and not daring to assume the weight of it itself, entrusted it to a government commission which was unable or unwilling to make use of it. This commission undertook to cool the national enthusiasm against our invaders. It decided upon the timid resolution to send five plenipotentiaries, chosen amongst the members of the two Chambers, to demand the fulfilment of illusory promises, which had been made by the allies under circumstances

which imposed a certain amount of prudence upon them. Anxious as to the issue of the struggle in which they had engaged, the allies, at the commencement of the 1815 campaign, had declared their intention of respecting the independence of France and of preserving the integrity of her territory. It was easy to foresee what would be the value of our demands upon them, the day when these demands were no longer backed by arms. And so we had the grief of seeing the deputies of a great people, which so often had triumphed over these same enemies, present themselves as supplicants in the cabinets of the ministers and the camps of the generals of the coalition, and expose themselves to the humiliations and disdain of a victor intoxicated with his successes.

I saw Fouché myself at the time and he charged me to tell Napoleon that the plenipotentiaries had been instructed to demand that Napoleon II. should be recognized and, in one word, to accept anything except a return of the Bourbons.

Whilst these plenipotentiaries, furnished with illusory instructions, were making their way towards the headquarters of the allied sovereigns, Fouché was sending confidants to Lord Wellington and to Prince Metternich to negotiate for the return of the Bourbons. It is here that we meet again with Macirone, who was one of the secret agents employed by the Duc d'Otranto. This former aide-de-camp to King Murat has given curious particulars about the missions with which Fouché charged him to Lord Wellington. Captain Macirone, who had witnessed, in 1815, the exaltation of the French soldiers, whose ranks he had passed through, and who had narrowly escaped being killed because

they took him for a spy, was astonished at the facility with which Napoleon had abdicated when there remained to him, round Paris alone, a re-organized army of more than 80,000 men filled with fanatical enthusiasm for his person, shaking with indignation at the yoke which it was wished to lay upon them, and burning with an ardour which was proof against anything; and that at the very time when Macirone had just seen that the Prussians and the English, on the contrary, were divided on the question of the re-establishment of Louis XVIII. We ourselves saw the Prussian cannon pointed against the Tuileries palace. M. Martial Daru, the military intendant, has assured me that overtures had been made by General Gneisenau to General Maison, at that time governor of Paris, to induce him to join with field-marshal Blücher for the purpose of driving the Bourbons out and of proclaiming a Prussian prince King of France. General Maison, whilst asking for time to consider his answer, had come to the conclusion that it was better to keep Louis XVIII. than to accept the Prussian yoke.

The judicious reflections made by Joseph Bonaparte on the conduct of the French Chambers during the last years of the Empire will not, we think, be read without interest. One might say that these reflections had been written by Napoleon himself. They are as follows:

"One must not cast on the nation the blame which is deserved by the members of the Chamber of Deputies, who, in 1813, joined themselves to M. Lainé, whose opinions at the time may be judged by those which he has since professed for the Bourbons; nor by the opinions and conduct of the Chamber of 1815, presided over by Lanjuinais, an honest but

short-sighted man, a bourgeois Cato and the eternal dupe of intriguers of every colour and every party. The French nation is no more in a coterie of peers, than the Italian spirit is in the sacred college and amongst the Neapolitan barons. The French nation is in the day-labourer's work-shop, in the middle-class family interior, in the work-room of the busy man, in the peasant's field, in the minds of all who palpitate at the remembrance of our national glory, in these old remains of so many heroes. The French nation is the nation which received Napoleon on his return from the island of Elba, which is conscious of what is right and what is wrong, which does not accuse the man whom she admires and whose widow she will long consider herself. This nation is not frivolous, capricious, changing, as people would have one believe. It feels to-day what it felt on the morrow of Austerlitz. But Europe has been pressing her down for the last fifteen years; and though it has crushed its will, it has not yet killed it.

"In all nations there are weak individuals who have been lifted by chance to eminent places. These individuals, in decisive circumstances often decide the fate of nations, by little personal passions by which, without suspecting it themselves, they are dominated. Unfortunately there were many such individuals in the Chambers of 1813 and 1815, and when they saw the precipice which they had opened beneath their feet they could do nothing but groan and lament themselves.

"For France's misfortune it was fated that men like Siéyès, Merlin, Carnot, Roederer, Boulay de la Meurthe, etc., etc., were not in a majority in the Chamber. The leaders of the majority were either men of bad faith or lacking in foresight of the future, guided by petty vanity, wishing to play the Romans of the time of Brennus or the Mirabeaus of the Jeu de Paume at a time when they should have rallied themselves to the dictatorship of Camillus to expel the Bourbons, that is to say the foreigners.

"I remember in this connection to the eternal honour of Siéyès that when he heard of the loss of the battle of Waterloo he came to see me. Finding me in conversation with Lanjuinais, president of the Chamber of Deputies, he said to me: 'If you want to persuade them with speeches, your work is cut out for you. Allow me to speak. Lanjuinais,' he said, 'Napoleon has at last lost a battle. He stands in need of us. He is coming. Let us go to his assistance, so that he may drive the barbarians out. He alone can succeed in doing this with our help. After that, if he wants to become a despot, once the danger is passed we will unite to hang him if that is considered indispensable. But to-day let us march with him, that is the only hope we have of safety. Let us save him that he may save us. The nation will be grateful to us for this, for he is to-day the man of the nation.'

"France is full of people who think so. It would be unjust to judge the nation otherwise than by them or by itself, by the force of its resistance and the example it has given in so many important circumstances.

"Napoleon without any doubt desired France and Italy to enjoy all the happiness, all the liberty of which they were capable. 'Time,' he used to say, 'will do the rest. *Il tempo è un galantuomo.* Suffice it for me to pacify them at home and to put them on the right road.'

"The Concordat, the Empire, the imperial nobility, his marriage, all these things were manœuvres to attain an object ignored by the incorrigible, with their assistance, by making everybody take part in bringing them to a successful issue. 'Mr. Colonel of the 4th,' he would sometimes say to me in jest, 'wheel to the right to march to the left.' Napoleon wished to attain peace with England, the conquest of all the rights which the Revolution had proclaimed and which the Terror had exaggerated in 1793. To succeed in this it was necessary to unite all parties, to make them all work towards a common object, which would have been the happiness of France, of Italy, of Europe, and at the same time an immense

glory for himself. England successfully opposed this object and Napoleon perished in the midst of his plan, at a time when his real system and his real object were yet neither known nor unmasked."

I will add to these reflections that if the nation was passive it has not on that account been forgetful. Obstinate fidelity under misfortune is not our ruling virtue. The nation was all the more accessible to the influence of reverses that it had been cradled in unparalleled prosperity. Its sympathy for the Emperor was not withdrawn from him, but, after our disasters, its ear listened more readily to spiteful or malevolent suggestions. From lassitude it let those whom in happy days it had blamed, say and do, but without letting any dislike for Napoleon have the slightest part in its resigned apathy. It allowed itself to be led whither they listed without looking at the road which was put before its feet to follow. Later on it awoke and started from its somnolence with a jerk which has replaced it in a state from which it will perhaps enfranchize itself by another convulsion.* However this may be, the French people still delight in the recollection of glory which will always be precious in its eyes, and its regrets for which will never be effaced.

Napoleon had signed his abdication in spite of certain generous opposition. General Drouot groaned over the misfortune of two abdications in the same year; Carnot saw in it France's death-warrant. Whilst this illustrious citizen—who had opposed Napoleon's elevation in 1804—dominated by the gravity of the situation in 1815 and foreseeing the sad consequences

* The Revolution of 1830.—R. H. S.

which would be entailed by the loss of a man whose military genius might still save the country, did all in his power to prevent his abdication, La Fayette urged it on with all his might.

A comparison between the conduct of two men, known for their patriotic sentiments, who played an important part at this time and whose political opinions were opposed to the Emperor, may, in our opinion, teach a useful lesson. Carnot was a sincere, straightforward man eminently patriotic. Easy to deceive as are all upright and guileless men he was Fouché's dupe. If his politics were not always clear-sighted, he understood, in 1815, all the harm that the politicians who dominated in the Chamber were about to bring on France. I can still see him taking leave of the Emperor who was leaving the Elysée to go to La Malmaison. He halted on the top of the stairs which led down into the garden and there this austere citizen, yielding to the excess of his emotion, threw himself on Napoleon's neck and leant his head on his shoulder to hide the tears which were streaming from his eyes. La Fayette, a republican of good faith, moved by a sincere love for his country, but unenlightened by experience, dreamed only of the means of realizing an impossible Utopia; the state of France in 1815 seemed to him a favourable opportunity to enforce his theories. More ardent than ever he raised a voice which was all the more powerful because it had not been heard for many years and recalled remembrances dear to the nation. He made use of a popularity which admired without investigating it the strange phenomenon of a man who had persevered in the same principles for twenty-five years, to break his tutelary sword in Napoleon's hand.

The same regrets followed the so different conduct of these two citizens. Carnot died in exile deploring the blindness which had destroyed the only instrument of our safety. La Fayette was not long in recognizing the effects of the unfortunate influence which he had exercised on our destinies. I have in my hands a letter which is the proof of this. It was forwarded to me by M. de La Fayette himself, together with the following note, written in his own handwriting:

"LA GRANGE, NOVEMBER 5th, 1825.

"I have the honour of saluting M. le Baron de Méneval and I make haste to send him a letter which I ought to have received at Washington but which reaches me here through American hands. He will greatly oblige me by informing me that he has received it. I beg him to accept the assurance of the pleasure which I take in discharging this commission towards him.

"(Signed) LA FAYETTE."

The letter which M. de La Fayette sent me, dated September 8th, 1825, from Breezy Point, near New York contained these words which allude to the occurrences of 1815:

"MY DEAR MÉNEVAL,

"M. de La Fayette will hand you this letter. He came to see me twice and spoke to me at length on the source of the mortal error which has been so fatal to us. He deplores the situation of France and appears to me to be animated with the best intentions....

"(Signed) JOSEPH, COUNT DE SURVILLIERS."
(JOSEPH BONAPARTE).

I have extracted the passage referring to M. de La Fayette from King Joseph's letter; the rest only con-

tains general reflections on the advantages of the American Government and on the satisfaction which is derived from a straightforward and honourable conduct. In the midst of the ovations with which the guest of the Americans, the friend and comrade-in-arms of Washington was everywhere received, the remembrances of 1815 pursued him. M. de La Fayette during a journey in America and a short stay in this country may have heard the words addressed by the venerable John Adams, former president of the United States, to a French general, and a member of the provisional government of 1815, Baron Quinette, who had both taken refuge in America: "Gentlemen, you did not understand the Emperor Napoleon."

The abdication by which the Emperor proclaimed his son, under the title of Napoleon II., could not satisfy Fouché who wanted a free field for the Bourbons. The Chambers appointed a provisional government commission and Fouché, although he was distrusted by all parties, had a great influence in the selection of the five persons who composed it. These five commissioners were, Fouché, Carnot, General Grenier, of the Chamber of Deputies; Quinette, and Caulaincourt, members of the Chamber of Peers. Fouché naturally was elected president of this commission. He spoke to each and all in the language which best suited his listeners, but he, above all, endeavoured to impress on everybody below his breath that Napoleon was an insurmountable obstacle in the way of peace. He found people of good faith in both Chambers, who were disposed to propagate his opinions openly, to listen to his insidious advice and without knowing it to second his secret designs. In adopting the order of the day proposed

by Manuel, based on the fact that by his father's abdication alone, Napoleon II. was emperor, the Chambers had settled the question of the acknowledgment of Napoleon's son. The government commission, dominated by Fouché, did not think itself bound by this equivocal consecration of the usages of the old monarchy. It placed at the head of its acts: "In the name of the French people," and Napoleon's name was omitted. Some isolated voices protested in vain against this omission, they found no echo.

Amongst the members of the provisional government figured, as has been seen, Caulaincourt, Duc de Vicence, whose devotion to the Emperor none could doubt. This faithful servant of Napoleon was fated to be called to play a last part in the dénouement of the great imperial drama, after having raised himself with the Emperor and having served him faithfully in good as in evil days. The Emperor always had sympathy and esteem for Caulaincourt. This officer, the son of the Marquis de Caulaincourt and nephew of General d'Harville, both old friends of the Empress Josephine, was colonel of the 2nd regiment of carbineers, when the First Consul attached him to his person in the capacity of aide-de-camp and afterwards employed him in various diplomatic missions. The very secondary part which Napoleon's orders and the passive obedience to which soldiers were subjected had given to Caulaincourt in the arrest of the Duc d'Enghien, this indirect participation, as we have already related, contributed to his fortune. Napoleon wished to compensate by all the means in his power, his aide-de-camp Caulaincourt for the attacks, as unjust as they were passionate, of which on this occasion he had been the victim on

the part of the royalists. Accordingly, at the time of the formation of the imperial household, he was appointed Grand Equerry and afterwards Duc de Vicence. As Grand Equerry he established, in the services which depended from his post, an order and a discipline which greatly pleased Napoleon. The Emperor allowed his Grand Equerry sometimes to give orders contrary to his own injunctions, whenever he recognized that the reason of these orders was in the interest of his service. The Emperor liked to travel with extreme haste and would always have ridden his horses at a gallop. The Grand Equerry on the other hand wanted to spare them, and he was besides frightened of accidents which might occur by riding at too great a speed. Napoleon in his impatience often used to order that the speed of his carriages should be increased. Then one might see the Grand Equerry, whose carriage followed the Sovereign's, leaning out of the window ordering the equerries and postilions at the top of his voice to slacken the speed of their horses. Napoleon, who heard him countermanding his orders, did not seem dissatisfied with him and perhaps in his heart of hearts thought that he was perfectly in the right.

During the negotiations which occupied the last period of the Empire the Duc de Vicence acquitted himself with a zeal which never failed him of the thankless mission with which Napoleon had charged him. Imbued with the principles of a purely military education he was a strict observer of discipline. Hard upon himself, during the retreat from Moscow, when there were twenty-five degrees of cold, he neglected to protect himself by wearing either a cape or a mantle. He

only wore a spencer lined with fur, on which were embroidered the insignia of his rank and which blended itself with his uniform. Vivacious and even rather brusque, with a habitually calm and serious expression, his manners were polite and often affectionate. His sentiments were chivalrous. He justified the opinion which Napoleon expressed about him when he said that he was an upright man and a man of heart.

After the fall of the Empire, the Duc de Vicence married Madame de Canisy, who had been married for the first time at the age of fifteen to her cousin M. de Canisy. This lady's father, who would not admit that there was any family superior to the Canisys, had insisted upon this marriage. Mademoiselle de Canisy was still of an age when discernment and experience are wanting to make a choice, and her father had not taken into consideration the harmony of tastes and tempers which renders marriages happy. This marriage accordingly did not present the conditions necessary for happiness. And so the two spouses were not long in separating. The husband was one of the Emperor's equerries of the household; the wife was one of the Empress Josephine's ladies and afterwards lady-in-waiting to the Empress Marie Louise.

The Duc de Vicence, won over by the graces of Madame de Canisy, whose wit equalled her beauty and who was one of the ornaments of the imperial court, had asked the Emperor to consent to Madame de Canisy's divorce so that he might marry her. Napoleon, who had considered divorce necessary to society, had an instinctive repugnance to authorize it amongst the persons by whom he was surrounded and in whom he took a real interest. The quality of a divorced

woman seemed a blot to him. Madame de Canisy, one of the Empress's ladies-in-waiting, enjoyed a well-deserved respect in his eyes; the Duchess de Vicence in spite of all his friendship for the Duke could not have retained her place as lady-in-waiting. Napoleon accordingly used his influence over General Caulaincourt to dissuade him from this marriage. It was only after the second Restoration, and before divorce was abolished that this marriage could be effected.

Having accomplished his last painful sacrifice, the Emperor, who was as great in his misfortune as at the time when he wore or distributed crowns, left the Elysée for La Malmaison, escaping the acclamations of an immense crowd which pressed itself every day in the Avenue de Marigny in the hopes of seeing him, and saluting with his hand the federates who with loud shouts offered to follow his fortunes and to defend him.

I continued to see Napoleon at La Malmaison, on that estate where the dawn of his greatness had shone, and which reminded him at one and the same time of things so sweet and so bitter. It was not without emotion that my eyes once more rested on this château where step by step I had been able to follow the progress of his astonishing fortune. I had found him there invested with a power temporary at first, but already crowned with the halo of great personal glory, spending the summer in this charming retreat with his seductive wife, the most amiable, the best of women, and the personification of female graces, as he himself used to say. I had seen him there, surrounded by his family and some faithful friends and servants,

sharing in their games, seeking some relaxation from his labours in the cool shade of the gardens, sowing the treasures of his fruitful imagination in conversations now serious now humorous but always full of original and profound remarks. I myself, at that time, humblest of guests, had sat down at his table. Soon the people's gratitude had raised him higher, and the procession which follows on greatness had grown larger behind him. He had been forced first of all to have a private table, next a court, but never had the exigencies of etiquette changed the kindness of his nature. When the venerable Head of the Catholic Church had come to France to crown and consecrate the Emperor, he had been received at La Malmaison with the filial deference which was due to him. Kings had come to this residence to pay homage to the great man as much as to the powerful sovereign.

The rupture of a union formed by mutual affection, and dissolved by the exigencies of politics, had caused Napoleon to leave this place which became the witness and the confidant of the regrets of a forsaken wife, as also the scene of a little court, the pomp of which often veiled the bitterest regrets. A premature death had snatched away the princess who adorned this abode, as though Josephine, to whom sovereign greatness had formerly been predicted, had accomplished her destiny and had no further part to play on this earth after she had lost her crown. Napoleon returned hither fallen from his high estate to take a last farewell of the tomb of his first wife; he was received here in his adversity by his adopted daughter, Queen Hortense, whose generous care and filial piety comforted him in his evil days. I saw there the noble courtiers of

adversity, ready to run all the risks of their illustrious chief's bad fortune; the Duc de Rovigo so energetic and so devoted, whose presence at Napoleon's side would have been so useful to him; General Bertrand and his wife, whose persevering loyalty only increased under adversity; M. and Madame de Montholon, who were to give him, in hard captivity, the care of devoted children; Gourgaud, whose devotion bore the stamp of a chivalrous mind and an ardent imagination; the virtuous Las Cases and his young son, whose adolescence formed in a great school was to bring forth excellent fruits;* Marchand, whose noble master was to reward his touching services by calling him his friend.

Walking one day with the Emperor in the private garden which adjoined his cabinet, he told me that he counted on me to follow him. I had no other intention. As I needed a little time to put my affairs in order, I asked him where I was to meet him. He told me that his first intention had been to go to America, but as there were some obstacles in the way of the realization of this plan, he intended to go and live in England, and added that he meant to insist on the rights which were enjoyed by every English citizen. As I expressed some surprise at this resolution, he exclaimed: "Without that condition I shall put myself at the head of affairs again." My surprise increased on hearing this sudden revelation and I could not help saying: "But, Sire, if such is your thought,

* It was this son, Emmanuel Las Cases (1800—1854) who acted as Napoleon's secretary at St. Helena. After Napoleon's death he challenged Sir Hudson Lowe to a duel, which the latter declined. In 1840 he accompanied Prince de Joinville to St. Helena to bring back the Emperor's body, and in 1841 published his "Diary Written On Board the *Belle Poule*." He was elected Senator in 1852.—R. H. S.

do not wait until the time has past: at some paces from here devoted generals and a faithful army call for you; you are not a prisoner here, I suppose." "I have here," he answered, "a battalion of my guard who would arrest Becker, if I said one word, and would act as my escort. Young man," he added, after a moment's silence, and with the gesture of pulling my ear, "such resolutions are not improvised." I then saw that the threat of placing himself at the head of affairs had only been torn from him by a flash of natural pride, and that it had never really been in his thoughts. This scene has remained engraved on my memory. At the end of this conversation he told me that he wanted me to remain at La Malmaison, and bade me ask Queen Hortense to give me a room. I accordingly stayed to dinner and I spent the evening with the Queen, preoccupied with the thought that I was expected in Paris.

At nine o'clock I heard that the Emperor had retired to his apartment. One of my friends who had dined at La Malmaison and who had no carriage told me that he counted upon me to take him back to Paris. I told him what the Emperor had said to me and he replied that I had no reason to fear that he would send for me before the morning. This should not have been a sufficient reason for my going away, because I knew that Napoleon often used to get up in the night. I very much wanted to return to Paris when I thought how anxious my wife and children would be at not seeing me come back to them. Absorbed as I was by these preoccupations, I did not reflect, a very simple reflection, after all, that I could lend my carriage and send a letter to my people. I

compounded with my irresistible desire to go home and waited another hour until I heard that the Emperor had gone to bed. I then yielded to the promise which was made to me by my friend that he would come and fetch me very early next morning to take me back to La Malmaison. On leaving I begged the Duc de Rovigo, who was remaining, to tell the Emperor that I should be back before the hour of his levee and I set out for Paris. On the morrow I waited for my companion of the previous night until six o'clock. Having no news of him, I sent to inquire as to the reason of this delay and heard that he had started at five in the morning. I immediately set out for La Malmaison, but the barriers of Paris had just been closed when I presented myself and I was told that nobody was allowed to go out. I returned at full speed to get this order countermanded as regarded myself. After a great deal of running about, I was just about to start off again for La Malmaison when I heard the news that Napoleon had just entered his carriage to go to Rochefort. Nothing had occurred the night before to make me suppose that his departure would be so sudden. I was painfully affected by this unexpected news, and my first apprehension was lest the Emperor had gone away with the idea that I also was abandoning him and that I had repented of having promised to follow him wherever he might go. This thought tortured me for a long time, until Madame de Montholon, on her return to France in 1819 or 1820, and later on the Emperor's faithful companions in exile, freed me from my apprehension by assuring me that Napoleon had never once alluded to the circumstance which I have related, that he had never

ceased to speak of me with kindness, and that he had praised my fidelity; assurances the confirmation of which I found in the souvenir which the Emperor deigned to bequeath to me in his will. However this may be I have always blamed myself for my want of presence of mind in this circumstance, and for my unpardonable weakness. I had separated myself from Napoleon, never to see him again here below. All my attempts to obtain an authorization to go and share his exile remained of no avail. I took recourse to the obliging intervention of General Wilson, who was the principal author of Count Lavalette's evasion, to reach the English Secretary of State for the Colonial Department. All that could be accorded to me—such was the answer vouchsafed—was permission to go to the Cape. Once there I should have been forced to write to the governor of St. Helena to ask for permission to come to this island, Sir Hudson Lowe being entirely master to grant or refuse this permission. It was impossible for me to obtain any other answer than this disguised refusal.

I heard afterwards that Napoleon during the night which preceded his departure from La Malmaison had thought of rendering a final service to the fatherland. In the rapidity of their march upon Paris the Prussian and English armies, intoxicated with their successes and full of imprudent confidence, had separated at the gates of the capital. The Prussians had crossed the Seine, and it would have been possible to crush them before the English army was in a position to assist them. Napoleon was of opinion that so unfavourable a position gave France a real chance to fight the enemies one by one, to drive them off, or at least to

obtain, by inflicting a defeat upon them, more favourable conditions of peace. He had accordingly proposed to the provisional government that he should assume the temporary command of the army, undertaking to resign after the victory. Fouché's perfidy and the mistrust of some members of the Commission caused Napoleon's offer to be rejected. Not one of them dared assume this responsibility towards a Chamber which feared Napoleon more than it feared the enemies. This proposal especially crossed Fouché's plans, for he had come to a secret understanding with the allies. He was afraid lest Napoleon should win back an authority and a prestige which would restore the nation to energy. The understandings which the allies had with Paris, thanks to Fouché's connivance, gave them a feeling of security which might have been fatal to them if the offers of the great captain had been accepted. In allowing for the unforeseen chances of the events of war, it was in any case a remedy *in extremis*, and in this desperate situation nothing stood in the way of an attempt in this direction. Whilst brazenly betraying the Emperor and the national cause, Fouché hurried on Napoleon's departure, under the pretext of caring for his personal safety—and really so as to rid himself of the vicinity of the great victim whom he still feared.* The Emperor in speaking of the Duc d'Otranto, had said of him the evening before at La

* This is certainly unjust. Compare Thiers, who cannot be considered partial to Fouché. He admits the sincerity of the latter's anxiety for Napoleon's personal safety, an anxiety which was fully justified by the well-known intentions of Blücher and the Prussians towards the Emperor, intentions which provoked Wellington's manly and chivalrous declaration that if the kings needed an executioner they must look elsewhere and that he recommended Blücher, in the interests of his glory, to imitate his example.—R. H. S.

Malmaison "I ought to have had him hanged. I leave that for the Bourbons to do." The Bourbons were to make a Minister of this regicide. Thanks to Fouché's patriotism, the Prussians certain of not being disturbed in their movements had come up to the walls of Paris. Napoleon by prolonging his stay at La Malmaison ran the risk of being captured by them. The Emperor's departure, which was urged on by the provisional government, took place on June 29th. On that day Napoleon left his retreat at La Malmaison, never to return there again, accompanied by some faithful servants who followed him into exile.

Such was the end of the most splendid, perhaps the most glorious reign of all those which history will have to register. It will be meet, we consider, to interrupt this narrative for a moment, to cast a glance at the various causes which prevented the consolidation of the great Empire and entailed its fall; these causes are many. Amongst them must be placed in the front rank, the hatred for the French Revolution implanted in the heart of the old European dynasties; and next England's successful resistance of Napoleon's efforts to enfranchise the sea. Above these two primary causes floated the fear inspired in the foreign sovereigns by the superiority of the powerful, innovating, and regenerating genius, devoted to the triumph of principles which were incompatible with the spirit of the old-world monarchies.

As auxiliaries to these implacable enmities were:

1. The condemnation of the Duc d'Enghien, a painful event, a fatal episode in Napoleon's reign, of which the enemies of our country in their bad faith

and their animosity did not fail to take advantage in their campaign against France and her chief.

2. The war in Spain, a disastrous enterprise, which divided our forces and perhaps prevented Napoleon's definite triumph over the sovereigns of the coalition.

3. The 1812 expedition against Russia which was doomed to failure in consequence of the severity of an exceptional winter, and whose deplorable issue had such fatal results.

And finally, a fourth factor, a dissolvent to which reference must be made and the force of which must be admitted, was treachery at home, treachery, timid and underground at first, but hardy in the end, and stalking abroad with uplifted head.

Two men, or, rather, two evil genii, had attached themselves to Napoleon's fortunes; everybody will know that I am referring to Fouché and Talleyrand.

Talleyrand, the last representative of the *grands seigneurs* of former times, supple, insinuating, prudent to excess, always master of himself, without any conscience, grown grey in political perfidies, and selling his influence to the enemy, surrounded his hidden intrigues with mystery.

Fouché, the former fiery demagogue who had exchanged the red cap for a ducal coronet, a foolhardy marplot, who needed intrigue as he needed air to breathe, falling into his own pitfalls, was less secret in his manœuvres. Napoleon despised him because of his political immorality, but made use of him, because he was convinced, I do not know for what reason, that he was necessary to him. The Emperor believed that the apostasy of the one and the regicide of the other guaranteed their fidelity. In dismissing the first from

his councils he was unable to deprive him of the power for evil which Talleyrand's influence abroad conferred upon him; in retaining the other he was nurturing a serpent in his bosom. These two men were equally harmful to Napoleon, one by his retirement, the other by his constant presence in the councils of the crown. They were not men of transcendant intelligence, but they had vices and capacities which stood them in stead with Napoleon. They might have been considered sufficiently guilty to have incurred a judicial sentence, but Napoleon, trusting in his force, thought the noise and scandal of a trial useless and even harmful.

His pride would, moreover, have suffered by the public confession that ministers vested with his confidence had been bold enough to conceive the plan of turning against him the power which he had delegated to them, and besides they had risen with him, and he could not forget their first services. The man who used to say that the stateman's heart should be in his head always felt his own heart in its right place, in spite of what he might say. It is especially against these two men that Napoleon pronounced an anathema when, on taking his last farewell of France, as the shores which he was never to see again faded from his sight, he cried out: "Farewell thou land of heroes.... farewell thou dear France; a few traitors the less and thou wouldst still be the great nation, the mistress of the world."

The Emperor had left La Malmaison and had gone to pass a night at Rambouillet. On July 3rd he was at Rochefort, where his brother Joseph followed him. During the twelve days which Napoleon spent either

in Rochefort or in the Island of Aix, he was undecided what to do. Should he go to America or to England? He received proposals from various French and foreign naval officers and from several generals who sent him messages. The blockade of the English cruisers and the declarations made by the captains in command of the vessels of this fleet barred the way to America. Of the various measures which were proposed to give the English cruisers the slip some were declared impracticable, others were considered inadmissible. Napoleon was loth to be the direct cause of the loss of the ships and the crews who should sacrifice themselves entirely for him. He preferred to wait for the safe-conducts which were to be sent from England. These safe-conducts did not arrive, and on the other hand assurances which he could consider official were given him that he would be received in England with the respect to which he had a right. As he was assured that in any case he would have every facility in this country for proceeding to America he decided to go on board the *Bellerophon*, the principal vessel of the English naval station. He sent on before him an autograph letter addressed to the Prince Regent of England and charged General Gourgaud to hand it to him in person.* After having accomplished this

* The text of this letter was: "Your Royal Highness, Exposed to the factions which divide my country and to the enmity of the greatest powers in Europe, I have closed my political career. I come, like Themistocles, to seat myself at the hearth of the British people. I place myself under the protection of its laws which I ask for from Your Royal Highness, as the protection of the most powerful, the most constant and the most generous of my enemies." Thiers remarks on this letter that, at any other time, it would certainly have touched English honour. "In the state of hatred and terror inspired by Napoleon, it was but a useless appeal to a magnanimity, which was quite deaf at the time."—R. H. S.

act the Emperor Napoleon surrendered, with all the confidence of a mighty foe, to British hospitality. The *Bellerophon* set sail for England the same day and dropped anchor at Plymouth. The moment for landing was being awaited on board this boat, when on July 30th two English commissioners came to notify the decision of the British Ministry to Napoleon, by which he was to be transported to the Island of St. Helena. I will not relate a matter of common knowledge, how the Emperor protested, nor the various incidents which marked this most painful epoch in his life, nor will I dwell on the manifestations of respect which he received from the English sailors and soldiers, nor on the curiosity which was excited by his presence near the English coast. I will content myself with putting on record the sentiments of universal sympathy of which Napoleon became the object in the midst of a crowd ever growing larger, packed in innumerable boats, which had come to contemplate him.

The *Bellerophon* not being in a state to undertake a long voyage the Emperor, and a small number of his faithful servants who were allowed to follow him, embarked on board the *Northumberland*, which set sail without delay to the place of exile which has been immortalized by the greatness of soul with which Napoleon supported his adversity there, and by his death. The Emperor spent two days of his captivity in the house of an honest Englishman where he was compensated for the insufficiency and discomfort of this poor abode by the care and the respect which were lavished upon him by this excellent family. Two months later Napoleon went to live in the house at Longwood where began for him that long

agony which was to last six years and to end in the tomb.

The Triumvirate of allied sovereigns left Vienna at the end of May; the generals in command of their armies had already preceded them on their road to France. A fortnight after the departure of the two Emperors and of the King of Prussia all the plenipotentiaries who had remained in Vienna, with the exception of the representatives of Spain, signed the Acts of Congress. The refusal of Spain was prompted by the objections raised by the former Queen of Etruria against the cession, to the former Empress of France, of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza, the paternal inheritance of the Infant, Don Carlos, this Queen's son. A subsequent convention, which settled the reversion of these states in favour of the Infant on the death of Marie Louise, ended this dispute. Amongst the illegalities and the arbitrary spoliations which were consecrated by the Acts of the Vienna Congress, figure the arrangements which deprived the son of the Duchess of Parma of his mother's inheritance. This famous Congress of Vienna which should have been an honest senate assembled to found a new public law intended to assure the peace of Europe and to protect her from fresh commotions was in reality nothing but an arena opened to spoliations and oppressive ambitions. Four great powers made use of the forces which the peoples had placed in the hands of these sovereigns, to ignore the social interests of these peoples and the promise which they had given to ameliorate the condition of these masses. Sovereigns and their ministers had been interested only in enforcing dynastic prerogatives and

in enlarging their territories at the expense of their weaker neighbours, and in the sole interest of ambition bringing about antipathetic fusions, dismemberments, barterings, traffickings, without either consulting public interest or decency, and with a total indifference to vested rights. The consequence has been that these arbitrary decisions scattered the seed of discontent, the ferments of discord, and future wars broadcast over Europe. Finally, having shown so much indifference for the rights of morality and justice, these powers, on the instigation of the Emperor Alexander, did their best to hide under the mantle of religion their selfish and greedy policies. The sovereigns signed a mystic treaty called the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, without the intermediary of their ministers, by which adopting Jesus Christ as their model and their master, they undertook to take as the rule of their conduct the principles of justice, charity, and peace which had been taught by the Saviour, to allow themselves to be guided under all circumstances by principles which they had most certainly repudiated only too often in their acts.

General Neipperg covered with the laurels which he had gathered in his last campaign in Italy had returned with fresh claims on the gratitude of the Austrian Government, to resume his rôle as supreme director of Marie Louise's sentiments and will. This Princess remained another year in Austria before she went to take possession of her new states. Although she was preceded there by an edict of the Austrian Government which imposed a war contribution of three millions to the benefit of Austria, these peoples, happy to be delivered from the scourge of a military occupation which had lasted more than two years,

received Marie Louise like a second providence. She seemed to have been sent to put an end to their evils and to bring an era of prosperity back amongst them. The most powerful reason of the flattering reception which was accorded to Marie Louise by her new subjects was, it must be said, the fact that she had been Napoleon's wife. In the solemn entry which she made into Parma there appeared by her side, and in the front rank Count Neipperg, who was then her *chevalier d'honneur*, and the guardian of her authority,

The task which I undertook has reached its end. I have made it a general rule to speak in detail only of those matters of which I was an eye-witness. I will accordingly not add any lengthy developments to the narration of the last years of the Emperor's existence at St. Helena. Whilst Marie Louise, henceforth alien to all the bonds which had united them, fallen still lower than Napoleon, was enjoying a condition which was prosperous in appearance, but which must have been troubled by bitter memories, her illustrious husband, betrayed by fortune and handed over to the outrages of his enemies, gave to the world, on a rock which has become sadly celebrated, a striking spectacle of a great man in the hands of adversity. Confined in the most unhealthy part of the Island of St. Helena, Napoleon lived there for nearly six years, exposed to the odious vexations which were inflicted upon him by the arbitrary will of a jailor lacking in every delicate feeling and unable to understand the respect that was due to such a mighty misfortune. Skilled in adding moral tortures to the material and physical sufferings of the Emperor, Hudson Lowe appeared to

have been commissioned to wear out at one and the same time the soul and body of his august prisoner. During five years the vigour of Napoleon's constitution, the force of his character and his intelligence resisted this accumulation of evils, but in the end his health gave way. From the year 1820, he was attacked by a serious disease, the progress of which might have been checked by a healthier climate. After having languished in slow agony this great man died on May 5th, 1821, not without having asked and received the assistance of religion.

The mystery with which the instructions from the Cabinet at London had enveloped the prison of Longwood left the world for a long time in ignorance of the sacrifice which was being consummated there, but in the end it was no longer possible to have any doubts about the grievous catastrophe.

The news of the Emperor's death caused a consternation in me against which I should have thought myself better armed. I became the victim of veritable hallucinations. In one of my painful sleepless nights it seemed to me that I was in a drawing-room at the Tuileries, hung with dark green velvet hangings. A semi-obscurity which reigned in this room and the absence of all apparent ornaments gave it a sad and severe aspect. I saw the Emperor standing here, leaning against the mantelpiece, on which a candle was burning, whose feeble ray only lighted a small part of the drawing-room. He was alone, and seemed to expect me. His face bore the stamp of profound sorrow. He was dressed in a white flannel dressing-gown and wore a Madras handkerchief knotted round his head. After some moments, the silence was so solemn that I did not dare to

break it, he said to me these only words: "Let us go to dinner." At the same time he stepped towards an open door opposite the mantelpiece. I followed him. We passed through numerous drawing-rooms all the doors of which were open, and which were hung with sombre coloured stuffs and feebly lighted. Like ghosts we glided over carpets whose thick folds deadened the sound of our feet. A gloomy silence reigned in the apartments. There were neither officers, nor pages, nor servants there. We at last halted in a room which appeared to me to be immense, and in the middle of which was a large table covered with a green cloth. On this table were two silver trays and a plate on each, opposite each other. A three-branched flambeau, with a shade over it, separated the two trays, behind each of which was placed an armchair. This room was as desolate and as unfurnished as the others. The Emperor motioned with his hand to the side of the table which was nearest the door by which we had entered, without saying a word, and went and sat down on the other side before his plate. I found my plate full of a kind of black broth which I tried to taste, but which seemed to me unendurably bitter. The light which was placed between Napoleon and myself prevented me from seeing him, but on raising my head and casting my glance in his direction I remained stricken with terror on beholding the Emperor's head above the light, with his eyes, full of a strange expression, fixed upon me. He was standing up and appeared to me of a gigantic size. His face was livid and cadaverous. His wraith staggered some steps forward and then disappeared in an obscurity which my eyes could not penetrate. My hair stood up

on my head, and in spite of my efforts to follow him my feet were fastened to the ground. I tried to cry out but my tongue clove to my palate. The light had gone out and a fearful silence, the silence of solitude, reigned in the apartment. It was indeed at the banquet of death that in a dream I had been present. The convulsive agitation in which I found myself aroused me from my sleep. I was bathed in perspiration. The vision had disappeared, but I remained for a long time under its painful impression.

The life of this great man had been a continual struggle and the most laborious of apostleships. If certain pleasures brought him some relaxation from his severe labours it is very certain that he had purchased them at a great price. His mind, strong as it was, had yielded for a moment under the inexpressible pain of seeing his work of renovation destroyed before it had been finished, his work of renovation—a magnificent monument which would victoriously have answered all doubts, all passionate criticisms, all unjust suppositions. Napoleon had seen all his purposes cruelly misunderstood and his character painted in the most odious colours. Hatred and envy had set upon this great victim like furies, and would have been pleased to make him doubt his immortality, that noble consolation which remains to unfortunate genius. Posterity, more equitable, will, methinks, pay a just tribute of regrets and admiration to this imposing memory. Posterity will pity this great man sacrificed but feared by a league of Kings united against a single adversary, whose very name, it is true, was worth many armies.

Victim of the confidence which had led him of his

own free will under the British flag he was buried alive in a tomb, deprived even of news of his wife and son, far from all his people, and forgotten of the world, which only remembered him from time to time to insult his chains. He languished six long years in his narrow prison, but he always remained great, and always superior to his misfortune. One might have said that the consecration of misfortune would have been wanting to so much glory. The illustrious man had had, as it were, a revelation of his future destiny when he wrote that passage in his speech, which may perhaps be remembered, and which we have quoted: "Great men are meteors designed to burn so that the earth may be lighted." Napoleon loved war too well, it will be said. Doubtless; but what lasting peace could he have concluded with the irreconcilable enemies? Lacking in generosity, and even in good faith, a hateful rivalry has always been the first motive of English policy towards France. When the government of the Empire whose greatness was created by the machinations of this policy, was rendering our nation prosperous and powerful, the English Cabinet had but one thought: to strike it down, and to interest the continental powers in its fall. It was exclusively for the purpose of its commercial aggrandizement and its maritime supremacy that it stirred up their passions without respite, and lavished its gold, to induce them to sacrifice to it the real interests of Europe. This is the truth which is well known to-day.

There can be no longer any question of reviving the splendour of the heroic days of which we in our turn have endeavoured to trace the picture. The formidable power which put England on the

brink of her ruin, which was on the verge of making her government expiate its long injustice and its abuses of its prepotence, is no longer to be feared by our eternal rivals; but, sooner or later, combined efforts will overthrow this intolerable domination, and Napoleon has prepared the abasement of the tyrant of the seas. If the excess of British maritime despotism raises up one day a man who shall continue his work, the *manes* of the Emperor will at last be consoled.

It can, moreover, be safely predicted, and we do not think that we shall incur a refutation in saying so, that, in avenging the martyrdom of Joan of Arc and of Napoleon, the ruin of the power of England will not leave a single regret in Europe.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

THE EMPEROR NAPOLEON'S ANSWER TO THE ADDRESS OF THE POLISH DEPUTIES IN 1812.

AFTER having spoken of the interest which he had always taken in Poland, Napoleon adds:

"I love your nation. For sixteen years I have seen your soldiers in the battle-fields of Italy and in the battle-fields of Spain. I applaud what you have done; I authorize the efforts which you wish to make. I will do all in my power to second your resolutions. If your efforts are unanimous, you may conceive the hope of reducing your enemies to recognize your rights; but in countries so remote and of such extent it is entirely in the unanimity of the efforts of the population which inhabits them that you can find hope for success.—I spoke to you in the same way at the time of my first entry into Poland. I must add to that that I have guaranteed the integrity of his domains to the Emperor of Austria, and that I can give my sanction to no plan which is calculated to disturb his quiet possession of such Polish provinces as remain to him.

"Act so that Lithuania, Samogitia, Vitepsk, Polotz, Mohilew, Volhynia, the Ukraine, and Podolia be animated with the same spirit which I saw in Great Poland, and Providence will crown your good cause with successes. I will reward this devotion on the part of your districts, which renders you so interesting and which gives you so much right to my esteem and my protection, by all that depends on me in the circumstances."

DECLARATION OF THE CLERGY OF FRANCE CONCERNING THE ECCLESIASTICAL POWER, DRAWN UP BY BENIGNUS BOSSUET, BISHOP OF MEAUX, MARCH 19TH, 1682.

Many persons are seeking to ruin the decrees of the Gallican Church and her Liberties, which our ancestors defended with so much zeal, and to overthrow their foundations, which rest on the Holy Canons and on the tradition of the Fathers: others, under the pretence of defending them, have the audacity to attack the supremacy of St. Peter and the Roman Pontiffs, his successors, instituted by Jesus Christ; to prevent obedience, which is due to them from everybody, being rendered to them; and to diminish the Majesty of the Holy Apostolic See, which is worthy of the respect of all nations where the true faith of the Church is taught and which preserve its unity. The heretics on their side, do all in their power to make this power, which maintains the peace of the Church, appear insupportable to the Kings and the Nations; and they make use of this artifice so as to separate the minds of the simple from communion with the Church. Wishing to remedy these matters, we, archbishops and bishops assembled in Paris by order of the King, together with other ecclesiastical deputies who represent the Gallican Church, have thought it seemly after mature deliberation, to make the following regulations and declaration:

I. That St. Peter and his successors, vicars of Jesus Christ, and the whole Church itself only received power from God in spiritual matters and matters concerning the salvation

of the soul and not concerning temporal and civil matters; Jesus Christ Himself informing us that His Kingdom is not of this world; and again that we must render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's and unto God the things that are God's; and that thus this precept of St. Paul's can in no respect be altered or absorbed, namely: *Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God.*—We declare in consequence that the kings and sovereigns are subject to no ecclesiastical power by the order of God, in matters temporal; that they can be deposed neither directly nor indirectly by the authority of the Head of the Church; that their subjects cannot be dispensed of the submission and obedience which they owe to them, nor absolved of their oath of allegiance; and that this doctrine which is necessary for public peace and not less advantageous to the Church than to the State, must be observed without any violation, as being in conformity with the Word of God, the tradition of the Holy Fathers, and the example of the Saints.

II. That the plenitude of power which the Holy Apostolic See and the successors of St. Peter, the vicar of Jesus, have over spiritual matters is such that in spite of the decrees of the holy œcumenical council of Constance, contained in sections IV and V, approved by the Holy Apostolic See, confirmed by the practice of the whole Church and the Roman Pontiff, and religiously observed in all times by the Gallican Church, remain in all their force and virtue; and that the Church of France does not approve the opinion of those who attack these decrees, or who weaken them by saying that thei authority is not well established, that they have not been approved of, and that they only refer to the times of schism.

III. That thus the use of its apostolic power must be regulated in accordance with the canons made by the Spirit of God, and consecrated by the respect of the whole world; that the rules, customs, and constitutions accepted in the

kingdom and in the Gallican Church, must have their force and virtue, and the usages of our fathers remain unshaken; that it is even so with the greatness of the Holy Apostolic See, that the laws and customs, established with the consent of this honourable See and of the churches, invariably subsist.

IV. Although the Pope has the principal voice in questions of faith, and although his decrees affect all the churches in general and each church in particular, his judgment is not any the less irreformable, except where the consent of the Church has been given.

We have decided to send to all the churches in France and to the bishops who preside over them by the authority of the Holy Ghost, these maxims which we have received from our fathers so that we may all say the same thing, that we may all be of the same opinion, and that we may all follow the same doctrine.

A decree of King Louis XIV., issued March 23rd, 1682, prescribed the registration of this declaration in all the courts of Parliament, and ordered that it should be taught at all the Universities and schools of theology.

An imperial decree issued February 25th, 1810, declared this edict to be a general law of the Empire.

The extraordinary declaration of the Congress of Vienna was sent to the French Council of State, which reported as follows to the Emperor. This report establishes the Emperor's situation in the face of France and of Europe with so much clearness and precision that in spite of the length of this document, and the publicity which has been given to it, we do not hesitate to reproduce it here.

This eloquent refutation was drawn up by M. Regnauld de Saint Jean-d'Angély, after a quarter of an hour's conversation with the Emperor.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION OF THE PRESIDENTS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE ON THE DECLARATION OF THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, OF MARCH 13TH, 1815.

In consequence of the reference made to it, the commission, composed of the presidents of the sections of the Council of State, has examined the declaration of March 13th, the report of the Minister of General Police, and the pieces thereunto annexed by him.

The declaration is of so unusual a form, conceived in terms so strange, expressed in ideas so anti-social, that the commission was disposed to consider it as one of those fictitious productions by means of which contemptible men endeavour to lead public opinion astray, and dupe the minds of the public.

But the verification of the reports drawn up at Metz and the examinations of the couriers left no doubt that this declaration had been forwarded by the members of the French Legation at Vienna, and it must accordingly be considered as having been adopted and signed by them.

It is under this first aspect that the commission thought fit first to examine this production which is without any parallel in the annals of diplomacy, and in which Frenchmen, men who enjoyed the most respectable public character, begin with a kind of excommunication, or to express it clearly with a provocation to the murder of the Emperor Napoleon.

We say with the Minister of Police that this declaration is the work of the French plenipotentiaries, because the plenipotentiaries of Austria, Prussia, Russia, and England cannot have signed a document which the sovereigns and nations to which they belong would make haste to disavow.

And in the first place these plenipotentiaries, who for the most part co-operated in the treaty of Paris, know that Napoleon was recognized in this treaty as retaining his title of Emperor and as sovereign of the Island of Elba; they would have named him by these titles and neither in the form nor in the substance of their declaration would they have abandoned the respectful consideration which these titles impose. They would have felt that, according to international law, the prince least powerful by the extent of the population of his States, enjoys as far as his political and civil character is concerned, the rights which belong to every sovereign Prince in face of the most powerful monarch; and Napoleon, acknowledged under his title of Emperor and in his quality as a sovereign by all the powers, was not more than any one of them under the jurisdiction of the Congress of Vienna.

The oblivion of these principles, which it is impossible to imagine in plenipotentiaries who weigh the rights of nations with reflection, maturity, and wisdom, is not surprising when it is manifested by French ambassadors whose conscience reproaches them with more than one act of treachery, in whom fear has produced rage and whose remorse leads their reason astray.

It is these who may have dared to risk the fabrication, and the publication of a document such as the alleged

declaration of March 13th, in the hope of checking Napoleon's march and of deceiving the French nation as to the real sentiments of the foreign powers.

But it is not theirs to judge, as they have done, the merits of a nation which they have wilfully misunderstood, which they have betrayed and handed over to the arms of foreign powers.

This brave and generous nation revolts against everything in the nature of cowardice and of oppression. Its affections increase in intensity when their object is menaced or is the victim of a great act of injustice; and the murder provoked by the declaration of March 13th will find for its accomplishment no arms either amongst the twenty-five millions of Frenchmen, the majority of whom have followed, guarded, and protected Napoleon on his march from the Mediterranean to the capital, or amongst the eighteen millions of Italians, or the six millions of Belgians and inhabitants of the banks of the Rhine, or the crowded population of Germany, who at this solemn juncture have pronounced his name but with respectful remembrance, or amongst the indignant English nation, whose honourable sentiments disavow the language which certain people have dared to attribute to the sovereigns.

The peoples of Europe are enlightened. They judge the rights of Napoleon, the rights of the allied princes, and the rights of the Bourbons.

They know that the treaty of Fontainebleau is a treaty made between sovereigns. Its violation, namely the entry of Napoleon on to French territory, like all other infractions of diplomatic conventions, like all other hostile invasions, could only entail an ordinary

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war, the result of which, as far as the person of the invading belligerent is concerned, can only be that he be victor or vanquished, free or prisoner of war; and as far as possessions are concerned, the result could only be that his possessions be increased or diminished, preserved or lost, and that any idea, any menace, any attempt against the life of a prince at war with another prince is a thing unheard-of in the history of nations, in the history of the Cabinets of Europe. In the violence, in the fury, in the oblivion of principles which characterize the declaration of March 13th, one recognizes the emissaries of the same prince, the organs of the same council, who by the decree of March 9th, placed Napoleon outside the protection of the law, summoned against him the daggers of murderers and promised a reward to anyone who should bring his head.

And in spite of this what did Napoleon do? He honoured with his confidence the men of all nations insulted by the infamous mission to which they were summoned. He showed himself moderate, generous, and the protector of the very men who had marked him out for death.

When he spoke to General Exelmans, marching to meet the column closely following Louis-Stanislas-Xavier; to General Count d'Erlon, who was to receive him at Lille; to General Clausel, who was going to Bordeaux where the Duchess d'Angoulème was staying; to General Grouchy, who was marching to check the civil war provoked by the Duc d'Angoulème; in one word, on every occasion orders were given by the Emperor that the persons of his adversaries should be respected and protected against all attack, every danger, and violence of any kind, as well during their

progress on French territory as at the moment when they left this territory.

The nation and posterity will decide on which side, at this great juncture, were a respect for the rights of the people and of the sovereigns, for the rules of war, the principles of civilization, the maxims of civil and religious legality. They will pronounce judgment between Napoleon and the House of Bourbon.

If, after having examined the alleged declaration of the Congress from this first point of view, one discusses it in reference to the diplomatic conventions, and taking into consideration the treaty of Fontainebleau of April 11th, which was ratified by the French Government, it will be found that its violation can be attributed only to the very persons who charge Napoleon with being guilty of this violation.

The treaty of Fontainebleau was violated by the allied powers and by the House of Bourbon, both as regards the Emperor Napoleon and his family and as regards the rights and interests of the French nation:—

I. The Empress Marie Louise and her son were to obtain passports and an escort to proceed to join the Emperor, and far from executing this condition, the wife was violently separated from the husband, the son from the father, and this under the painful circumstances when even the strongest mind requires to seek for comfort and support in the bosom of his family and in his domestic affections.

II. The personal safety of Napoleon, of the imperial family, and of their suite was guaranteed, in Article 14 of the treaty, by all the powers, and bands of mur-

derers were organized in France under the eyes of the French Government and indeed by its orders—as will shortly be proved by the solemn proceedings which are about to be taken against M. de Maubreuil—to attack the Emperor, his brothers, and their wives. This first part of the conspiracy having failed, a riot was provoked at Orgon, on the road taken by the Emperor, in the hope of sacrificing his life at the hands of some ruffians. There was sent to Corsica as governor, one of Georges's band of hired murderers, the man Brulart, specially raised to the rank of Marshal, a man known in Brittany, in Anjou, in Normandy, in the Vendée, and throughout the whole of England by the blood which he had shed; and this with the object of preparing and assuring the success of the projected crime. It may be added that a number of solitary murderers tried on the island of Elba to earn the guilty and shameful reward which had been promised to them, by the murder of Napoleon.

III. The duchies of Parma and of Piacenza were given in fee-simple to Marie Louise for herself, her son, and his descendants; and after long refusals to put her in possession, this injustice was consummated by an act of absolute spoliation, under the vain pretext of an exchange, effected without valuation, without proportion, without sovereignty, and without the consent of the party interested. Documents which exist at the Foreign Office, which have been examined by us, prove that it was at the instance of Prince de Bénévent that Marie Louise and her son were thus despoiled.

IV. A suitable establishment outside French terri-

tory was to have been granted to Prince Eugene, the adopted son of Napoleon, who honoured the France which saw his birth and won the affections of the Italy which adopted him. He received nothing.

V. The Emperor, by Article 9 of the treaty, had stipulated in favour of the heroes of his army that their endowments on *Mont Napoleon* should be preserved; he had reserved out of the extraordinary domain and out of the funds which remained over from the civil list the means of rewarding his servants and of paying the soldiers who attached themselves to his destiny, and all was taken away from him and reserved by the Ministers of the Bourbons. M. Bresson, an agent of the French soldiers, went in vain to Vienna on their behalf to claim for them the most sacred of possessions—the price of their courage and of their blood.

VI. It was stipulated that the personal and real property of the Emperor's family should be preserved —Article 6—and the members of the imperial family have been despoiled both of their real and personal estate, and this with armed force, by commission-holding brigands, and in Italy by the violence of the military commanders; in both countries by means of sequestrations and seizures formally ordained by the authorities.

VII. The Emperor Napoleon was to receive two millions, and his family two hundred and fifty thousand francs per annum, by Article 6 of the treaty, and according to the scale established. Now the French Government has persistently refused to carry out this engagement,

and Napoleon would soon have seen himself reduced to discharge his faithful guard, for want of the means of giving them their pay, had he not found in the faithful remembrances of the bankers and merchants of Genoa and of Italy, the honourable resource of a loan of twelve millions of francs which was offered to him.

VIII. Finally, it was not without a motive that it was desired, by every means, to separate from Napoleon these companions of his glory, these models of devotion and of constancy, the immovable guarantees of his safety and of his life. The island of Elba had been assured to him as a possession in fee-simple by Article 3 of the treaty, and the Congress had formed the resolution, a resolution desired by the Bourbons and solicited by their agents, of despoiling him of it.

And but that Providence in this matter dispensed its justice, Europe would have seen Napoleon's person, Napoleon's liberty attacked, would have seen him thenceforward at the mercy of his enemies, far from his family and separated from his followers, at St. Lucia or at St. Helena, assigned to him as his prison.

And when the allied powers, yielding to the imprudent wishes, to the cruel and pressing demands of the House of Bourbon, condescended to violate the solemn contract on the faith of which Napoleon had freed the French nation from its oaths towards him; when he himself and his whole family saw themselves menaced, attacked in their persons, in their possessions, in their affections, in all the rights stipulated in their favour as princes and even in those assured by the law to simple citizens, what, then, was Napoleon to do?

Was he, after having suffered so many insults, after having supported so much injustice, to consent to the complete violation of the engagements taken towards him and, resigning himself personally to the fate which was being prepared for him, to further abandon his wife, his son, his family, his faithful servants to their horrible fate? Such a resolution appears beyond human strength, and yet Napoleon might have taken it if the peace and the happiness of France had been the price of this fresh sacrifice. He would once more have sacrificed himself for the French people, from whom, as he wishes to make it known throughout Europe, it is his glory to hold all he has, to whom he wishes to bring all back, and to whom alone he wishes to account for his actions and devote his life.

It was for France alone, with the view of sparing her the disasters of a civil war, that in 1814 he abdicated his crown. He returned to the French people the rights which he held at their hands. He left it free to choose for itself a new monarch and to found its liberty and its happiness on institutions which should safeguard the one and the other.

He hoped on the nation's behalf for the consecration of all that he had acquired by twenty-five years of warfare and of glory, the exercise of its sovereignty in the choice of a dynasty and in the stipulation of the conditions under which it should be called to reign.

He expected from the new Government respect for the glory of the army, the rights of his heroes, the guarantee of all new interests, interests created and existent for the quarter of a century, resulting from all political and civil laws, observed, reserved, from the period

stated, because these laws are identified with the habits, customs, and needs of the nation.

Far from this, all idea of the sovereignty of the people was thrust aside.

The principle on which all the political and civil legislation since the Revolution has rested was equally thrust aside.

France was treated by the Bourbons as a revolted country, reconquered by the arms of its former masters and once more subjected to a feudal domination.

Louis-Stanislas-Xavier ignored the treaty which alone rendered vacant the throne of France, and the abdication which alone allowed him to ascend it.

He has pretended to have reigned nineteen years, thus insulting the governments established during that time, the nation which consecrated these governments by its votes, and the army which defended them, and even the sovereigns who recognized them in their numerous treaties.

A charter drawn up by the Senate, imperfect as it was, has been relegated to oblivion.

There has been imposed on France a so-called constitutional law, as easy to be evaded as to be revoked, and this in the form of a simple royal decree, without consulting the nation and without hearing even those bodies which have become illegal, phantoms of the national representation.

And as the Bourbons have decreed without right and promised without warranty, so they have evaded without good faith and executed without loyalty.

The violation of the alleged charter was restrained only by the timidity of the Government: the extent of abuses of authority has been limited only by its weakness.

The dislocation of the army, the dispersion of its officers, the exile of many amongst them, the degradation of the soldiers, the suppression of their endowments, the stopping of their pay and pension, the reduction of the annual sums paid to the members of the Legion of Honour, the way in which they have been despoiled of their honours, the pre-eminence of the decorations of the feudal monarchy, the contempt for the citizens once more styled the Third Estate, the despoiling, prepared and already in course of execution, of the purchasers of national estates, the disproportionate reduction in value of the estates which their owners have already been obliged to sell, the return of the feudality in its titles, its privileges, its useful rights, the re-establishment of ultramontane principles, the abolition of the liberties of the Gallican Church, the annihilation of the Concordat, the re-establishment of tithes, the renascent intolerance of an exclusive form of worship, the domination of a handful of nobles over a people accustomed to equality, this is what the Bourbons have done and wished to do for France.

It is under such circumstances that Napoleon left the island of Elba. Such are the motives of the determination which he took, and not the consideration of his personal interests, so slight in his eyes as compared to the interests of the nation to which he has consecrated his existence.

He has not brought war into the bosom of France, he has on the contrary extinguished the war which the proprietors of national estates, forming four fifths of the French landed proprietors, had been forced to wage against their despoilers; the war which the citizens, oppressed, abased, humiliated by the nobles,

would have been forced to declare against their oppressors; the war which the Protestants, the Jews, and men of various forms of religious worship would have been forced to carry on against their persecutors.

He has come to deliver France and it is also as a Liberator that he has been received.

He arrived almost alone, he traversed two hundred and twenty leagues without meeting any obstacle, without fighting, and took back without resistance in the heart of the capital and to the sound of the acclamations of the immense majority of citizens, the throne which had been abandoned by the Bourbons, who could arm nobody either in the army, or in their household, or amongst the national guards, to attempt to maintain themselves on this throne.

And, moreover, placed once more at the head of the nation which had already chosen him three times, which has just for the fourth time designated him by the reception paid to him during his march and his rapid and triumphant arrival—what does Napoleon desire from this nation by which, and in whose interests, he wishes to reign?

He wishes what the French nation wishes: the independence of France, peace at home and peace abroad, the execution of the treaty of Paris of May 30th, 1814.

What then is changed for the future in the state of Europe and in the hope of rest which had been promised to it? What voice is raised to ask for that assistance, which according to the declaration is only to be granted in case it is asked for?

Nothing is changed, if, as one has the right to expect of them, the allied powers return to a just and

moderate state of mind; if they recognize that the existence of France, in a respect-inspiring and independent state, as far removed from conquering as from being defeated, from dominating as from being enslaved, is necessary to the balance of power of the great powers as also as the guarantee of the smaller states.

Nothing is changed, if, respecting the rights of a great nation which wishes to respect the rights of all other nations, which, proud and generous, has been abased but never can be degraded, it is allowed to take back the monarch and to provide itself with a constitution and laws which suit its customs, its interests, its habits and its new requirements.

Nothing is changed if, not attempting to force France to take back to herself, together with a dynasty which she can no longer desire, the feudal chains which she snapped in twain, to submit herself to the extortions of the nobility and of the church from which she has enfranchised herself, it is not sought to impose laws upon her, to interfere in her private affairs, to assign to her a form of government, to give her masters according to the interests or passions of her neighbours.

Nothing is changed, if, when France is occupied in preparing the new social agreement which will guarantee the liberty of her citizens, the triumph of the generous ideas which predominate in Europe and which it is impossible to stifle, she be not forced to alienate herself, for the purpose of taking up arms, from these pacific thoughts and the means of prosperity at home to which the people and its leader wish to devote themselves in a happy union of mind.

Nothing is changed, if, when the French nation asks only to remain at peace with the whole of Europe, an unjust coalition does not force it to defend, as it did in 1792, its will and its rights, its independence and the sovereign of its choice.

Signed: The Minister of State, President of the section of Finance, Count DEFERMON;
The Minister of State, President of the section of the Interior, Count REGNAULD DE SAINT-JEAN D'ANGÉLY;
The President of the section of Legislation, Count BOULAY;
The President of the section of War, Count ANDRÉOSSY.

Certified as in conformity with the original text,
The Minister Secretary of State,
Duc de BASSANO.

Letter from King Joachim to M. Macirone.

AJACCIO, 28th SEPT., 1815.

M. MACIRONE, envoy of the allied powers to King Joachim,—My first letter of to-day was dictated by the circumstances of the moment. I now owe it to myself, to truth, and to your noble frankness and good faith, to inform you of my real intentions.

I esteem my liberty higher than any other possession. Captivity according to my way of thinking is synonymous only with death. What treatment can I expect from those powers which left me during two months under the daggers of the assassins of Marseilles. I saved the life of the Marquis de Rivière. He was sentenced to die on the scaffold and I obtained his pardon from the Emperor. Odious truth! it was he who secretly urged on these wretches, it was he who put a price on my head! Wandering about in the woods, hidden in the mountains, I owe my life alone to the generous pity which my misfortunes awoke in the hearts of three French officers, who conveyed me to Corsica at the greatest risk of their lives.

Certain wretches allege that I carried away with me from Naples great treasures. Do they not know that I received this kingdom in exchange for the Grand-duchy of Berg, which was my property in accordance with a solemn treaty? I brought to it immense riches, all of which were spent for the welfare of my Kingdom of Naples. Has the sovereign who since has come to occupy this kingdom admitted this fact? I

have nothing left for my family or myself to live on.

I shall not accept the conditions which you are commissioned to offer me. I see in them only an abdication pure and simple on the sole condition that my life will be spared, but that I must live in eternal captivity, subjected to the arbitrary action of the laws of a despotic government. Where is there here moderation or justice? Can one see in these conditions the respect due to an unhappy monarch who was formally recognized by the whole of Europe, and who at a very critical moment decided the issue of the campaign of 1814 in favour of these same powers who now, contrary to their own interests are crushing him down under the excessive weight of their persecutions?

It is a well-known fact that I only repelled the Austrians as far as the Po because by means of intrigues I had been successfully persuaded that they were preparing to attack me, without, however, the co-operation of England. I deemed it necessary to advance my line of defence and to win over the peoples to my side.

Nobody better than yourself, Sir, as is also the case with Lord Bentinck, knows that I only engaged on that fatal retreat movement on the declaration made by this general that he would be forced to give his assistance to the Austrians, since they had asked him for it. You know the causes which occasioned disorder and desertion in my fine army: the false reports of my death so cunningly spread abroad, the landing of the English in Naples, the conduct of General Pignatelli-Strongoli, and finally the treachery of certain amongst my officers who succeeded, with perfidious art, in increasing by their example and by their

speeches discouragement and desertion in my army.

There is not to-day living a single member of that army who has not recognized his mistake. I am leaving to join them. They are burning with the desire to see me once more at their head. They have preserved for me all their affection, as have also all classes of my well-beloved subjects. I have not abdicated. I have the right to resume my crown if God grant me the strength and the means. My presence on the throne of Naples cannot now be the cause of any fear. Secret understandings with Napoleon, who is no longer on the island of Elba, can no longer be pretended. Quite on the contrary England and Austria may derive advantages therefrom for which they would wait in vain at the hands of the sovereign whom they have wished to put in my place. I enter into these particulars, Sir, because it is to you that I am writing. Your conduct towards me, your reputation and your name entitle you to my frankness and to my esteem. You will be unable to put any obstacles in the way of my departure even should you wish to do so.

At the time that this letter is handed to you, I shall already have travelled a good distance towards my destination. I shall either succeed or I shall end my misfortunes with my life. I have braved death a thousand times in fighting for my fatherland. Shall I not be allowed to affront it a single time for myself? I tremble only for the fate of my family.

I shall always remember with pleasure the noble and delicate manner in which you have discharged your mission towards me. It contrasts pleasantly with the gratuitously insolent and revolting conduct of several

persons, who have neither the same power nor enjoy the same respect as yourself.

I have given orders that your papers be returned to you. And hereupon, M. Macirone, I pray God that He may hold you in His holy and worthy keeping.

(Signed:) JOACHIM.

Preface to the Notice on General Neipperg.

At the time of the death of General Neipperg, M. Saulnier, at that time director of the *Revue Britannique*, caused me to be asked to contribute a notice of this person. I undertook in the following article to throw light upon the double combination of the coalition, which, whilst wounding Napoleon in his person, removed from him the support which he might have found in the effect of his union with an Austrian princess, in separating him from his wife and his son and inducing the Empress to abandon his cause. It was a matter of importance to the coalition to prevent all resistance on the part of this princess and to strip her of the prestige of public favour so as to annihilate her and to more surely consummate their common ruin.

This article appeared in the number of the *Revue Britannique* for February, 1829, under the title of *Esquisses Contemporaines*. Certain errors which crept in during the printing have been corrected, and certain passages have been reinstated which the editor of the *Revue* had either changed or suppressed to avoid compromising himself with the Government censorship and quarrelling with his foreign subscribers.

Count Neipperg.

General Count Neipperg has just died at Parma after a long agony, at the age of fifty-seven; he was born in 1771. For the last three years he had been

fighting against an incurable disease, the progress of which was only checked by the science and zeal of a skilful doctor. He had felt a serious increase of this disease on his return from a journey to Vienna on which he had accompanied the Duchess of Parma in the course of last September. Count Neipperg, desirous of following this princess to Piedmont, was living with her in one of the King of Sardinia's pleasure-houses, when his disease took so serious a complexion that the doctors despaired of being able to prolong his life, and indeed the report that he was dead spread itself prematurely. The transfer of the dying man was then imperatively enjoined by that court etiquette which establishes distinctions even in death and will not suffer that a patient not belonging to the reigning family should die in a royal residence. It is stated that the sovereign's dislike for M. de Neipperg, as much as the rules of the palace rendered his removal necessary. He was transported to Turin and carried back in a litter from that city to Parma, where he died on the 22nd December last.

Count Neipperg has followed into the grave the great man to whose ruin he so actively contributed. When the princes of the coalition, like unto the seven chiefs sacrificing to Fear before Thebes, had made up their minds to immolate Napoleon to their repose, it was to the hatred of the English Cabinet that they confided this care. This Cabinet, faithful to its traditions, drew this too confident enemy into a trap, and then violating in its first application the principle of Christian charity, pompously set forth in the preamble of the treaty of the Holy Alliance, made haste to entomb him alive in the midst of the abyss of the sea, separated for

ever from the world and handed over to the brutality of a gaoler constituted the executioner to the coalition.

Nor was that all; the great and unhappy man, gifted with a soul which rose superior to the gratuitous vexations to which it was desired to subject him, was deprived by an implacable line of policy of the comfort so dear to the heart of the exile, of receiving from time to time news of his wife and his son, of hearing that they were still living and that they had not forgotten him. A profusion of prohibitive measures, often base in their form and always gratuitously odious, was lavished to intercept the most innocent communications by which ingenious fidelity or generous pity for misfortune might have softened his captivity; but only the half of this odious task was fulfilled.

If his wife and his son, the one a widow, the other an orphan before their time, had been snatched away from his tenderness, they still remained the object of the interest of Europe. That sentiment of kindly feeling which attaches itself to great misfortunes, to feeble beings, and innocent victims, was bound to reflect on the illustrious exile, whose bosom was being torn by the British vulture. Politics with their crooked and tortuous ways, came to lend their aid to violence.

Lying reports were first spread as to the legitimacy of the child, but these reports fell to the ground before the honesty of the Emperor of Austria. This prince's solicitude for the mother was more easily abused. Marie Louise, without being aware of the fact, became one of the principal agents of whom the coalition made use to ensure the ruin of the enemy whose close captivity did not sufficiently reassure it. The Austrian

oligarchy was charged with the second act of this great drama. It sought amongst its agents for the man best suited for the accomplishment of its designs. The Emperor of Austria had cast his eyes on the head of a family illustrious by his birth and by the splendour which comes from a large fortune, with the intention of placing him with his daughter; but this person did not doubtless offer the resources which were deemed necessary for the part for which he was intended, and Count Neipperg was chosen. Sprung from an old Wurtemberg family, he had attached himself to the service of Austria. His talents had won him the confidence of Prince de Metternich. He had already displayed his capacities, first at Stockholm and afterwards at Naples. Austrian ambassador to Stockholm in 1812, he was not a stranger to the treaty of Orebro by which the Prince Royal of Sweden armed himself against the country which had reared him, and handed her over to England and Russia. Under the veil of the alliance, whilst an Austrian corps was giving the French army the assistance of an equivocal co-operation, the Vienna oligarchy was secretly raising up enemies to the son-in-law and ally of its master, and was working on the passions of a man who had owed his pardon for guilty undertakings to the long suffering of the First Consul, and a throne to the generosity of a great soul, which disdained to remember ingratitude.

He had married, in this country, a woman with whom he had eloped from her husband and with whom he had five children. This woman died at the beginning of 1815, after an illness of two days. Her first husband was still living in 1814. The death of this first husband preceded hers only by a few days.

Count Neipperg was sent with new instructions from Stockholm to Naples. It was owing to the seductions exercised by him and the promises which he held out that the heroic and unhappy Joachim was decided to embrace a line of action the hazardous advantages of which had been in his mind since our first disasters, but which success alone could justify. He induced him to sign, on January 11th, 1814, a treaty by which the King of Naples made common cause with the coalized allies and put into the field an army, the defection of which a year later was to surrender him defenceless to his perfidious allies.

These successes were so great a recommendation that it was not probable that so precious an instrument for another work of seduction would be passed over. Count Neipperg accordingly flew to Mantua, carrying a letter from the King of Bavaria to his son-in-law, Prince Eugene. He based himself on this letter to propose to the prince that he should follow the example of his father-in-law and cease a resistance which Napoleon's fall and abdication rendered useless. Eugene answered his pressing requests with these words: "I know nothing about politics, but if it is true that the Emperor Napoleon has abdicated, let us not lose a moment, let us join our troops together and march to support the rights of the Empress-Regent and of her son." That was not what the cunning diplomat wanted; but what was not obtained by intrigue was brought about by the force of circumstances.

The fall of the European colossus having rendered the employment of Neipperg's diplomatic talents unnecessary, he went to France to get his part of the easy successes which the allies were winning there.

He happened to be in Italy, with a command, in the month of July, 1814, when the Empress Marie Louise left Vienna for the Aix waters in Savoy. General Neipperg came to meet her at a distance of two stages from Aix. He was then a man of a little over forty years of age, of middle height but of distinguished bearing. The hussar uniform, which he usually wore, and his fair and curly hair gave him the appearance of youth. A large black bandage covered the cicatrice of a wound by which he had lost an eye; his look was keen, piercing, and inquisitorial, his manners were elegant and polite, his language was insinuating, and this, combined with agreeable talents, predisposed people in his favour. He was not long in winning Marie Louise's good graces. Gifted with a supple and facile mind, supported at every point by the Prime Minister, speaking in the name of a father for whom this princess professed the greatest deference, he made rapid progress in the confidence of a young woman of an easy and kind-hearted character, repelled by her adopted country, separated from the devotion of the small number of Frenchmen who had attached themselves to her evil fortune, and still under the influence of the terrors of the most overwhelming catastrophe which ever shattered a royal existence.

At Blois, a Russian general comes to remove her and to conduct her to Orleans with an escort of Cossacks. At Orleans, officers are sent by her father to conduct her to Rambouillet, the gates and avenues of which she finds guarded by Cossacks. An Austrian staff is commissioned to conduct her to Vienna from Rambouillet, passing stage by stage through the Austrian army and crossing through Tyrol, which is devoted to the

House of Austria. At Aix, an Austrian general lives with her, and his dissembled supervision is backed up by a corps stationed in the neighbourhood.

Thus do barriers spring up in ever-increasing numbers beneath her feet. Wherever she finds herself, a wall of iron rises up between her and the husband whom politics had united to her lot for a given period. The tie formed by the Church is not severed, but human laws and natural feelings are wilfully ignored.

General Neipperg was very attentive to Marie Louise during the six weeks which she passed at Aix. After the season of the waters, he accompanied her on a pleasure tour which she took in Switzerland, the various districts of which she travelled through. She enjoyed, with delight, the liberty resulting from an absence of all Court ceremony, and was able to satisfy her predominating taste for private life.

He returned to Vienna with her towards the end of the summer. His affectation of devotion to her interests, the activity of the steps which he took on her behalf, his pleadings in her favour, had touched the heart of Marie Louise. She undertook not to receive any letter from the island of Elba without handing it to her father, and not to answer it without his consent. Thus were the effusions of conjugal love and paternal solicitude subjected to the inquisition of a congress of inimical kings. To obtain this sacrifice from her it was pointed out to her that the interests of her son, even the interests of her husband exacted it. On her return from Aix she was lured with the hope that her submission would put her in possession of the States which had been promised to her, that her son would accompany her there and would succeed her. Separated

from her husband by insurmountable obstacles she concentrated all her solicitude on her son.

In proportion to the success obtained by the manœuvres which were employed to separate the former Empress of the French from her husband and from France, difficulties arose. The French and Spanish ambassadors made objections and raised claims, the importance of which one did not fail to exaggerate. One of the French plenipotentiaries, Duc Dalberg, happening to be at the house of Madame de Brignole, his mother-in-law, whose honourable feelings attached her to the losing cause, remarked aloud that the Archduchess Marie Louise would not have Parma, and that the allies would not suffer the *race of Bonaparte* to have an independent principality. Count Neipperg, seizing upon this opportunity for displaying his zeal, wrote out a memorandum intended to combat the claims of Spain and to establish the rights of the House of Austria over the duchies of Parma. In the end these resistances, in part genuine, in part feigned, by which Marie Louise was being intimidated, ended in a declaration that she should obtain possession of the duchies, but on the express condition that her son should not accompany her. Fresh pressure was exerted on the princess to bring her to this new sacrifice and fresh considerations were put forward to overcome her reluctance. General Neipperg pointed out how impossible it was that the son of Napoleon should be allowed to go to Italy, and invoked the testimony of one and all to the effect that the Empress's real friends would implore her to leave her son in Vienna if his presence in Italy was to injure this young prince's interests, whilst reserving to herself the faculty of seeing him every year.

Whilst matters were in this state, the news of the return from the island of Elba came to strike terror into the midst of the council of Amphictyons,* who, lulled in trustful security, whilst pretending to settle the equilibrium of Europe, were sharing its spoils. This event made it deemed necessary to exercise a more direct supervision over Napoleon's young son. He was removed from the motherly care of his respectable governess, Madame la Comtesse de Montesquiou, and taken from the château of Schönbrunn, where he was living with his mother, to the palace of Vienna, where an apartment adjoining that of the Emperor was assigned to him. At the same time General Neipperg induced his mother to sign a declaration by which she protested that she was an entire stranger to Napoleon's plans and that she placed herself under the protection of the allies.

The widow of an Austrian general was appointed governess to Napoleon's son. She was intended to act as lady-in-waiting to Marie Louise during the first moments of General Neipperg's absence, the general having been sent to Italy about that time. A year later, when Count Maurice Dietrichstein was appointed tutor to the young prince, this lady was appointed Grand Mistress to the Duchess of Parma. Thus the guardianship exercised over Marie Louise was not suspended for a single moment.

At the commencement of April, 1815, General Neipperg went to assume the command of the vanguard of the Austrian army, which was opposed to the King of Naples. Fate destined him to consummate the ruin of this prince, which he had commenced a year before.

* Greek History.

He was the first to enter Naples and was for a short time governor of this city. After this short campaign, the division which he was commanding was sent to the South of France. He only remained there a short time. About six months after his departure from the army, having been appointed Grand Master of the Duchess of Parma's household, he returned to Vienna where he once more joined Marie Louise. In the Gard department, where he exercised his command, this Roman Catholic General was very useful to the Protestants, and left an honourable remembrance of himself in this province. During his absence, thanks to a constant exchange of letters, Marie Louise had not been deprived of his counsels.

A decision of the Empress's affairs had been suspended during the pleadings of the great suit which was at last decided in the plains of Waterloo. When the Princess's consent to all the conditions which it was wished to impose upon her had been obtained, and there was no further reason to fear any resistance on her part, the Congress published its decision, a decision which had been come to long before, to deprive her son of his rights of succession. The deed dated June 9th, 1815, settled that the reversion of the States of Parma should be decided by a general agreement amongst the allied princes. By the same deed Marie Louise was declared Duchess of Parma, Piacenza, and Guastalla, and the life-sovereignty of this country was conferred upon her, but it was only about a year later, when it was well assured that the lion was garrotted and that it was entirely out of his power to break his chains, that Marie Louise became free to proceed to Parma, after having embraced, with tears in her eyes, the son,

who had become for her an indispensable source of comfort, but the sweet privilege of educating whom under her eyes was denied her by umbrageous politics. She sought after a feeble compensation for the happiness which was refused to her in the assiduous care which she never ceased to bestow on his education. Thus this young prince, like to a small tree transplanted to a foreign clime, found himself, in his earliest youth, ravished from his fatherland and the affection of his parents, but the interest and the affection of his maternal grandfather protected him. Supported by this kindly protection, he is growing up in silence, proving his illustrious origin by his resemblance to his father, by the meditative expression of his features, and by the precocious development of his faculties. To whom may it be given to foresee the fate which awaits him?

"Heu, miserande puer! si qua fata aspera rumpas...."

General Neipperg followed the Duchess of Parma into her new States, with unlimited powers. Already in the month of April this princess had surrendered to her father all her rights of government in the duchies. Neipperg, continuing in Parma the mission which he had fulfilled in Vienna with complete success, exerted all his vigilance to isolate the Duchess of Parma from all her past souvenirs. A strict police system barred the way to anyone who might have spoken to her of France and of her husband. The bent of Marie Louise's character had always kept her away from all matters concerning politics or government. During her stay in Prague in 1812, after the meeting in Dresden, her stepmother had urged her to take advantage of Napo-

leon's affection for her, to become initiated into public affairs, but she had always refused to follow this advice. Advantage was taken of her inexperience. General Neipperg sent for a number of pamphlets and writings inspired by hatred and party spirit to misrepresent the character and principles of Napoleon's government. These publications were read out aloud in the ducal palace.

Finally, to tell all, the restless curiosity which seeks to penetrate the secrets of the private life of sovereigns, that sentiment of envy which is aroused in the majority of men by stations exalted above the stations of others, have spread abroad in Italy the report that the man, who had admitted having, in his instructions, authority to *carry matters as far as they could be carried*, had added gallantry to his means of influence. It has been said that the princess gave birth to children, and that after Napoleon's death a marriage of conscience came to cover with the cloak of religion a premature union. We must abstain from expressing any opinion on an allegation the proof of which has not reached us, which, however, seems to offer certain appearances of probability, upon which malignity cannot fail to work.

It is right to recognize that Count Neipperg's government has left regrets in Parma, that the absolute powers with which he was invested were employed by him to the country's best interest, that a moderation and a tolerance which contrast in a remarkable manner with the regimen to which the neighbouring countries are subjected, presided over his acts. Taking all into consideration, Count Neipperg cannot have been a vulgar man. The Duchess of Parma loses in him a minister whose skill

rendered him useful. It is difficult for limitless authority to be always exercised without contradiction, and so it has been said that Marie Louise, in spite of the docility of her character and her reluctance to enforce the will which she derived from her first education and from her union with Napoleon, used sometimes to bear the yoke which had been laid upon her with impatience. However, she appears to be inconsolable for the loss which she has just experienced. To fill the void which this loss has left in her life, she surrounds herself with reminders of the man whom she does not cease to deplore. She has even given orders that a magnificent mausoleum be erected to his memory in testimony of the bitterness of her regrets. The following is the letter which she wrote to Doctor Aglietti, the celebrated Italian doctor who had attended General Neipperg during his last illness.

"PARMA, APRIL 5th, 1829.

"I received your letter of March 29th, a few days ago, my dear Aglietti. The sentiments which you express in it touched me deeply and I beg you to believe that I fully believe that you did everything in the world to save the life of our dear departed. But there are occasions unfortunately where all the talent, which you possess in so high a degree, and all the efforts of art are powerless, for it is impossible to fight against the Divine Will. You are very right in saying that time and religion can alone diminish the bitterness of such a loss. Alas, the former, far from exercising its power over me only daily increases my grief, * and were you to see me at this moment, you would find

* Marie Louise afterwards married a third husband, M. de Bombelles.

me very much less calm and resigned than when you left Parma. I have been very ill since that time, with rheumatic fever and periodical nervous pains. M.— treated me very well and set me up again, but I have difficulty in getting back to myself again. In this kind of illness one needs amusement, but where can one find it when one feels oneself surrounded with nothing but a fearful void and when the heart is for ever dead to happiness? I should be delighted if in time an occasion might present itself for me to see you and to express to you the feelings of esteem and friendship with which I remain your affectionate

"MARIE LOUISE."

The following details may be added to what precedes.

When Marie Louise arrived in Parma the inhabitants of the duchies fancied they had found the shadow of that French rule, dear to the Italians who feel to-day that they were happy only by France. During the first twelve years, Marie Louise justified the expectations of her new subjects, order and regularity were re-established in every department of her government, and debts were paid. The forms of French government, which had been so easily naturalized in these provinces, were almost entirely maintained. The civil and military functionaries who had served under the Empire, were kept in their places, as far as depended on the sovereign. If she was unable always to preserve her country from Austrian greed, she at least preserved it from the arbitrariness and the illiberal spirit of this government. The duchies of Parma and Piacenza enjoyed a liberty which was unknown to the other states of Italy. Improvements and embellishments

were introduced, bridges and dykes assured communications too often interrupted by the overflow of the Taro and the Trebbia, hospitals were founded for old people, for the sick, for women in childbed; asylums were founded for orphans, a theatre, and a gallery for a museum were constructed, and so on. It must be added that the credit of this beneficent administration is especially due to the Duchess's minister. Count Neipperg, whom a disordered ambition and his personal interest had rendered one of the bitterest enemies of the Emperor and of France, was, it must be said, an enlightened man and a good administrator; to these qualities he added good intentions. He won for Marie Louise the esteem and the affection of the inhabitants; his death was a misfortune for her. No longer restrained by his firm and skilful hand venality and evil passions got the upper hand, disaffection was not slow to follow and made rapid progress. The movements which took place in Italy in the year 1831, the counterblow of our revolution in 1830, caused a revolt to break out. The Duchess flees from Parma to Casal-Maggiore and goes to ask assistance from the Austrians against her subjects. She returned, escorted by Austrian troops, and lent her name to the vexations and persecutions of every kind which were exercised by the Vienna Cabinet, without the Duchess of Parma being guilty of any other complicity than that of feebleness and want of will. The country fell once more under Austria's leaden yoke, and was once more worked for its profit by Count Neipperg's successors in the government. To the affection which the Duchess of Parma had at first inspired succeeded disrespect, indifference, and hidden resentment.

Marie Louise had united herself to Count Neipperg

by a morganatic marriage. She had three children by him. The eldest daughter married the son of Count de San Vitale, the Grand Chamberlain of Parma, and lives at her mother's court. The second child, Count de Montenuovo, is an officer in the Austrian army. The third child, who was a daughter, died at an early age. The fact of this union being established I shall not investigate whether the children's births were legitimized by a regular act or whether Marie Louise's union with Count Neipperg preceded Napoleon's death. In Italy, in that country of easy arrangements, the sanctification of a union is the simplest thing in the world. Two persons who wish to marry declare their intention before a priest, who confesses them, gives them the absolution and marries them, and all that without the intervention of witnesses being necessary. However, in Vienna as in Parma, Marie Louise never ceased to express her firm resolution not to provoke a divorce and never to accept any such proposal. This reason, and especially the mystery which enshrouded the birth of the children, induced the belief that this princess only contracted a new marriage after the death of her first husband.

A person worthy of all confidence told me in May, 1826, that only a short time previously Marie Louise had written to M. de Fellemberg, director of the fine agricultural establishments at Hofwill near Berne, that having just confidence in his principles and his enlightenment, she begged him to undertake to find her a virtuous lady, of gentle manners, well-educated, possessing the *ton* of the best society and, in one word, endowed with the necessary qualities for educating two young orphan girls in whom she took the greatest interest. She

added that it was intended to give these girls a brilliant education, because they were destined to occupy a distinguished position in society. M. de Fellemberg, on receipt of this letter, set to work to find the governess who should fulfil all these conditions. Three weeks later he replied to the Duchess of Parma that, having conscientiously busied himself with the commission which had been given to him, his choice had fixed itself on the sister of a near relation* of a Berne magistrate who was known by his very remarkable political and literary works. He added that he had made sure of her consent, that this lady, who was about forty years old, was a lady of the best social *ton*, highly educated, knowing French, Italian, and English like her mother tongue, a woman of the best principles and coming of one of the best Swiss families; that he proposed her with all the more confidence because to these qualities she added the advantage of being related in a degree to the House of Lorraine. About a month later, Count Neipperg wrote in the Duchess's name that the choice of the person proposed seemed likely to suit, but that the consent of the Court of Vienna, to whom the matter was to be referred, was necessary. After an interval of some weeks, the same Count Neipperg wrote again to M. de Fellemberg to thank him for the trouble he had taken, and to inform him that the answer from Vienna had been to the effect that for the present the children in question could dispense with a governess, and that arrangements would be made for them when they had reached a more advanced age.

*Mademoiselle de Bonstetten.

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Monsieur

Monsieur Le Baron de Menneval

Parme ce 30 Janvier 1818.

Je vous remercie infiniment mon cher baron, des vœux que vous voulez bien former pour moi à l'occasion de la nouvelle année, et je vous prie d'être persuadé de la sincérité de ceux que je forme continuellement pour votre bonheur et celui de toute votre aimable famille; car je penserai toujours avec reconnaissance aux services que vous m'avez rendus pendant tant d'années. C'est donc avec un bien vif intérêt que je prendrois part à tout ce qui vous concerne ainsi que les vôtres. Veuillez bien faire mes remerciements à Mr de Menneval pour son souvenir. Ma santé est très bonne, et ce qui vaut encore mieux est que je suis parfaitement heureuse et contente de la situation dans laquelle je me trouve.

Je vous prie de croire aux sentiments d'estime et de considération avec lesquels je suis

Votre très affectionnée

Marie Louise

A Monsieur

Monsieur de Mesmidel

Secrétaire intime de Sa

Majesté l'Empereur

à Boulogne

Je vous prie monsieur de vouloir bien remettre à sa Majesté l'Empereur tous les détails que vous recevrez de lui, dont il m'intéressera pour moi, que je vous fais infiniment de grâce de l'attention que vous aurez en lui remettant les dépêches.

Croyez monsieur que je saurai reconnaître de votre amitié dans toutes les circonstances l'intérêt réel que je prends en vous.

Joséphine.

New. York 15 7bre 1830.

Si j'étais à portée de developper à S. M. I. et R. votre auguste père les raisons qui rendent indispensable cette démarche de sa part dans ce moment, Elle n'aurait aucun doute de son indispensable nécessité; son unique sentiment le bonheur de son petit fils, celui de la France la tranquillité de l'Italie, et peut-être durante de l'Europe.